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ABSTRACT

The Issues of Race section of the proceedings of this conference of journalism historians contains the following 11 papers: "Dan A. Rudd and the 'American Catholic Tribune,' 'The Only Catholic Journal Owned and Published by Colored Men'" (Joseph H. Lackner); "Rough Flying: The 'California Eagle,' 1879-1965" (James Phillip Jeter); "Simeon Saunders Booker: Washington Bureau Chief" (Barbara Diggs-Brown); "Through Different Colored Glasses: African-American Correspondents in World War II" (Tonya V. Smith); "All That Jazz: Carter G. Woodson's Blue Note: African-American Press Focus on Jazz in the Early '30s" (Leonard Ray Teel); "William Lloyd Garrison's 'Ladies' Department': A Public Forum for Black Women Journalists of the 1830s" (Bernell E. Tripp); "Toward a Common Goal: Jean-Charles Houzeau, P. B. S. Pinchback and New Orleans' Black Press, 1862-1882" (Paul H. Gates, Jr.); "A Voice for White Society: The Role of 'The Virginia Gazette' during School Integration" (Poul Olson); "A Question of Race: A Southern Liberal Journalist's Fight for Freedom and Injustice" (Kevin Stoker); "Newspaper Contempt and the Issue of Race" (Richard Scheidenhelm); and "The Glass Houses of the Cold War: The American Press and Racial Problems on the World Stage" (Richard Lentz and Pamela A. Brown). (RS)

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Dan A. Rudd
And
The American Catholic Tribune,
"The Only Catholic Journal Owned and Published By Colored Men"

by Joseph H. Lackner, S.M.

Dan A. Rudd was a remarkable individual. Born as a slave in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1854, he rose to national recognition as a black editor in the United States.[1] But unlike other nineteenth century African American editors, he was a Roman Catholic, when at most there were two hundred thousand Catholics out of the seven million American blacks.[2]

Though he was Catholic, he mixed freely with the Protestant black elite on both local and national levels and exerted some influence among them. For example, he participated in the Afro-American Press Association and served on its committees with journalists of the stature of Harry C. Smith of the Cleveland Gazette and T. Thomas Fortune, the leading black journalist from the middle 1880s into the first decade of the twentieth century.[3] Edward Elder Cooper of the Indianapolis Freeman featured him as part of his paper's regular series on young African American leaders.[4] And he was nominated at least once as one of the "ten greatest Negroes" in a contest sponsored by the Indianapolis paper in 1890.[5] Rudd, himself, never tired mentioning the visits of fellow black editors to his paper's offices.[6]

On the local level, Rudd associated with Peter H. Clark, "Cincinnati's most famous colored citizen,"[7] William H. Parham, lawyer and principal of Gaines High School (Cincinnati's only African American high school at the time), Charles W. Bell, professor of penmanship in the city's mixed schools and a correspondent for newspapers, and other prominent blacks singled out by Wendell Dabney, author of Cincinnati's Colored Citizens and himself a member of the Queen City's African American elite at the turn of the century.[8] In 1889 some of these men and other Cincinnatians hosted a reception to recognize Rudd's "... services and earnest labors in behalf of his race and the Catholic Church."[9] Included among those who toasted Rudd was George H. Jackson, "the wealthiest colored man in Cincinnati,"[10] a lawyer and future member of the Ohio State legislature.

And though Rudd was black, he had the attention, at least for some time, of important members of the white elite among the Catholic laity. For example, his name appeared along with those of two other prominent Catholic laymen, William J. Onahan and Henry J. Spaunhorst, on the letter calling for the first general congress of Catholic laity in United States.[11] And just as Rudd developed friendships with African Americans journalists, so he cultivated ties with white editors of Catholic newspapers,[12] even to the point of being present at the founding meeting of the Catholic Press Association.[13] Because Rudd spearheaded the Afro-American Catholic

Congresses,[14] held from 1889-1894, and distinguished himself as a lecturer on the "Negro Question" in the east and midwest of the United States, he was likewise well-known among the elite of Catholic African Americans.[15]

Rudd also solicited and received the support of many bishops and archbishops in the United States,[16] even travelling to Europe as a delegate to the International Anti-Slavery Congress and carrying with him a letter of support from Cardinal James Gibbons.[17]

At the reception mentioned above, William Henry Elder, Archbishop of Cincinnati, congratulated him with the words:

> To Mr. Dan A Rudd was due the inception and success of the late Colored Catholic Convention which met in Washington City in January last. That Convention was for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Colored race, and the good that resulted from it can not be estimated. I am glad to see members of all denominations here to-night to do honor to Mr. Rudd. ...Mr. Rudd is doing his part toward dissolving this [race prejudice] problem.[18]

Rudd came to Cincinnati in the late summer of 1886, after several years in Springfield and Columbus, Ohio, where he served as an editor of newspapers and a champion for civil rights for African Americans, particularly for the end of segregation in the public schools.[19] The American Catholic Tribune was his first attempt at Catholic journalism and it would prove one of his most outstanding successes. Like its editor, the paper was unique among the more than twelve hundred Catholic newspapers published during the nineteenth century[20] and an equal number of black papers founded from 1866 to 1905.[21] As a declaration printed on the editorial page of every issue claimed, the American Catholic Tribune was "The only Catholic Journal owned and published by Colored Men." This assertion accurately expresses the newspaper's mission and captures its distinctiveness. A more expanded statement of purpose is found in a letter, dated August 22, 1886, published at the paper's beginnings:

> We will do what no other newspaper published by Colored men has ever dared to do -- give the great Catholic Church a hearing and show that she is worthy of at least a fair consideration at the hands of our race, being as she is the only one on this Continent, where rich and poor, white and black, must drop prejudice at the threshold and go hand in hand to the altar.
>
> We will also continue to fight for the eternal principles of liberty, justice and equality before the laws. The publishers will endeavor to make the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE national in its character and fearless in advocating the policy adopted.[22]

To fulfill the paper's mission, Rudd put before his subscribers news about blacks, no matter what their religious affiliation, who had succeeded and who were worthy of imitation. His intent was to sensitize whites, making them aware of the race's achievement and equality, and to encourage among African Americans race pride, an important catalyst to their advancement. In this effort he was at one with other black editors of the day.

But what made Rudd exceptional among African American journalists was his aim to give race pride a particular Catholic turn. There were some black journalists, Smith[23] and Fortune[24] among them, who occasionally suggested that the "color line" did not exist in the same way among Roman Catholics as it did among white Protestants. Such was Rudd's absolute conviction, rooted in his memory of the Catholicism of his parish church in Bardstown.[25] And so he was indefatigable in asserting that the Catholic Church had no color line and was "...the only true solution of that catch question The 'Negro Problem.'"[26] "Her [the Catholic Church's] solution," he wrote, "is simple justice to all concerned. ...The whole Christian religion is based on the unity of the human race. Destroy this and fundamental laws are swept from existence. The Catholic Church has always taught this truth and by that teaching has made present civilization possible."[27] It was his hope that his paper would make Protestant and unchurched blacks aware of the very existence of African American Catholics, of Catholic teaching and the promise it offered, and of news about the current events of the Catholic Church.[28]

For African American Catholics, a minority within a minority, he attempted to bolster their pride both in their race and in their church. To begin with, he strove to acquaint these black Catholics with one another and bring them together in conventions as a means of engendering a sense of solidarity and common purpose.[29] To raise their aspirations he ran news and engravings of accomplished black Catholics.[30] And in particular, he featured stories about Augustus Tolton, "the first black American priest whom all knew and recognized as black...."[31] For him the fact that an African American could be ordained a priest, one of the highest positions within the Catholic Church, should stand as a sign to black Protestants that there was no color line in the Catholic Church and to black Catholics that this was a dignity to which they had a right to aspire.[32]

Since Rudd's intention was to reach his whole race, he had correspondents and subscription agents in various parts of the country.[33] In none of his endeavors was he ever satisfied with simple concentration on a local or state level. His aim was always to reach the entire nation and even beyond.[34]

Founded in Cincinnati, the American Catholic Tribune was but one of thirty-nine other Catholic newspapers published in the Queen City during the century.[35] But how many black papers in the city formed its contemporaries is not possible to determine. In the middle of the twentieth century, Armistead Scott Pride, in his pioneering registry of African American newspapers, listed five nineteenth century black papers in Cincinnati in addition to the Tribune.[36] But because, as Dr. Pride has indicated, the registry is clearly incomplete and has not been updated through further research,[37] it may be that other black papers were published contemporaneously with the American Catholic Tribune.[38] However, the fact that Pride recognized the publication of the American

Catholic Tribune[39] is significant, for no other recent work on the black press has acknowledged its existence,[40] even though such influential black papers as the Washington Bee, the Cleveland Gazette, and the Indianapolis Freeman occasionally made mention of it in their pages.

Like most other black or Catholic newspapers, the American Catholic Tribune was a weekly, whose subscription rate was two dollars per year.[41] It was composed of four pages, seven columns per page,[42] and always featured engravings. One of these, appearing on the editorial page for only a short time but quite symbolic of the paper's mission, pictured a bishop surrounded by several children of various cultures and races with the caption "The Church The Mother of ALL."[43] Also printed on the editorial page for more than a year and a half were the words of Isaiah, "They who instruct others unto justice, shall shine as stars in the 'Kingdom of Heaven,'" along with the comment, "Such is the reward of the supporters of this journal."[44]

During the Cincinnati years the Tribune changed its publication date twice.[45] Its offices also moved two times before the paper left the city for Detroit.[46] And on occasion an issue was late or missed.[47]

Though the paper was similar in format to other black newspapers of the day,[48] it differed from them in several ways. First of all, in comparison to many other African American papers, it was relatively long-lived.[49] As Dabney said of other black papers in Cincinnati, "'We have weeklies that lasted a week and a daily that had a name though paper itself never came.'"[50] The Tribune, on the other hand, ran from 1886 to 1894 in Cincinnati and then to 1897 in Detroit. Secondly, though most black newspapers seldom reached a readership of more than five thousand,[51] at its height the American Catholic Tribune claimed a circulation of ten thousand.[52] In fact, Freeman's Cooper boasted, probably with some exaggeration, "...The Tribune has a paid up circulation, running up into the thousands, and is, perhaps[,] making more cash money than any newspaper in the country published by colored men."[53]

Thirdly, criticism was frequently leveled at African American papers for the kind of advertisements they often accepted. Critics found too many adds for cosmetics, patent cures, clairvoyants, politicians, and esoteric books.[54] Such criticism applied only slightly to the American Catholic Tribune during the Cincinnati period. A review of advertising at approximately six month intervals during these years[55] does reveal that advertisements for patent medicine and cures, among them some of the most popularly advertised in the country, for example, Scott's Emulsion, Hood's Sarsaparilla, and St. Jacob's Oil,[56] did appear in the Tribune's pages. But it was only in the last two years that they represented a significant percent of the advertisement. For example, in the February 18, 1887, edition there was no mention of patent medicine, though by January of 1890 the percentage had risen to about twenty-seven, while in the last two issues surveyed patent medicine and cures accounted for about fifty and forty-four percent respectively.

It is also worth noting that a similar criticism was directed against Catholic journalism. Louis W. Reilly, the experienced editor of Catholic newspapers who issued the call for the founding meeting of the Catholic Press Association,[57] complained: "The last noticeable short-coming of the Catholic press is its willingness to accept undesirable advertisements. Too many papers help along the business of gin-shops, quack-medicine venders, snide jewelry dealers, real estate speculators, etc."[58] Again, such comments hardly pertained to the Tribune. For example, only once was an advertisement dealing with liquor found in the survey.[59]

The amount of advertisement printed by the paper fluctuated through the years. A little more than seven columns were devoted to it in the February 18, 1887, issue. In the July 5, 1890, edition it had dropped to a little more than three columns. But by the last Cincinnati copy of the paper it had climbed to almost five columns. Also, the location of the advertisers varied. As one might suspect, in the first years those from Cincinnati were most numerous. But from the beginning, cities such as Washington, D.C., Boston, and New York were represented, indicating the national intent of the paper.

Besides patent medicine and cures, advertisements for railroad lines, tailors, restaurants, clothing stores, attorneys, and books and book stores were fairly numerous. Promotion for St. Elizabeth's Academy and Boarding School for Colored Girls in St. Louis and for Nazareth Institute, Industrial School for Colored Boys in Baltimore, as well as for Jasper College, a school conducted by Benedictines in Jasper, Indiana, was carried in the Tribune. And Friedrich Pustet & Co., a famous international chain of church good supplies and books for Roman Catholics, was also counted among its clients.

From the sample, except for the two black schools, it is clear that the advertisements were not specifically directed toward an African American audience. In fact, advertisement characteristic of black papers, for example skin bleaches, hair straighteners, and African American funeral establishments,[60] is conspicuously absent from the American Catholic Tribune. This observation raises the question of readership.

It has been suggested that a large percentage of subscribers to black newspapers in the nineteenth century were white.[61] Whether such was the case in regard to the American Catholic Tribune is impossible to determine with absolute certainty. Rudd did urge every priest with black parishioners to use the paper to acquaint them with other black Catholics.[62] He also appealed to the African Americans of Cincinnati for subscriptions.[63] And he asked wealthy Catholics to contribute to the free distribution of the paper to non-Catholic blacks throughout the country.[64] But the impression created from the survey of the newspaper through the Cincinnati years is that most subscriptions were the result of Rudd's lectures in cities and parishes throughout the country. If that impression is accurate, then the majority of the Tribune's readership would have been white.

Fourth and finally, unlike most black editors of the day, whose newspaper work was an avocation,[65] the American Catholic Tribune and a job printing establishment associated with it were Rudd's only occupation. And because the paper was affiliated with its own printing operations in Cincinnati, it did not suffer, as did many other African American papers,[66] from a haphazard publication schedule.

Rudd was proud of the Tribune's facilities and throughout the years he alerted the readers to the improvements that were taking place. For example, in 1888 Rudd explained that publication of the paper was delayed in order to install a new fast cylinder press, a new engine and shafting, and a folding machine.[67] The next year he invited friends of the Tribune to visit the office and inspect the Van Duzen gas engine that operated the machinery.[68] And at the end of 1889, Lincoln C. Valle, then a reporter for the St. Louis Advance and eventually a colleague of Rudd, listed a large Campbell newspaper press and two job presses among the Tribune's facilities in an article he wrote for his paper.[69] In the following year Rudd claimed: "We have presses, type; folders, type writers, telegraph and all other things that go to make up a first class newspaper outfit."[70]

The newspaper and job printing establishment also served as a vocational school for African American youth. Like many black and white leaders of the day who were concerned with furthering the interests of African Americans, Rudd believed that industrial schools were a crucial factor in the future success of the black race. Though modest at first,[71] by 1892 the printing establishment and school occupied an entire building and had space for fifty pupils.[72] A reporter for the Times-Star, a local Cincinnati daily, visited the school that year and wrote: "...the institution was full equipped to teach book making in almost all of its departments. Instruction is now given in shorthand, telegraphy, type setting, press work and mechanical engineering."[73] Because Rudd recognized that most of the young men and women who entered the school were poor, from their first day he paid them a small salary, which increased as their skills developed.[74] In Rudd's mind the school and the newspaper were natural counterparts in his mission as a black and as a Catholic, and he firmly believed that together they would stand as "one of the finest monuments to Catholic teaching on the doctrine of the brotherhood of man."[75]

A twofold question that emerges from the saga of the American Catholic Tribune is how much the printing establishment, school, and newspaper cost to operate and how Dan A. Rudd was able to finance such an enterprise. At present it is impossible to resolve this question with absolute certainty. However, there is some evidence that points at an answer to at least the latter part of the question.

To begin with, though Rudd was born into slavery, by standards of the day his family was not poor; in fact, it might easily have qualified as middle class among African Americans.[76] Therefore, it is conceivable that his brothers may have contributed something toward his enterprise. Also, Rudd had worked a number of years in Springfield and Columbus as a printer, reporter, and editor. It is probable that some savings from these years may have been used to launch the Tribune. And stipends for the many lectures he delivered throughout the eastern half of the United States may have covered more than transportation and been a source of funds for his paper and school.

Secondly, at the beginning the American Catholic Tribune was a joint adventure between himself and his partner, Dr. James Theodore Whitson, M.D. Born in Pennsylvania,[77] Whitson attended a Catholic elementary school and eventually graduated from Pittsburgh Central High School, one of the first two African Americans to have received a diploma from this institution.[78] Several months after graduation he applied and was accepted as principal of a black elementary school in Ripley, Ohio.[79] While there, he trained under a white physician and then left the city to attend the Western Reserve Medical College.[80] After graduation in the spring of 1885, he established a practice in Springfield, Ohio, and remained there until the late summer of 1886.[81] It was in the Champion City that Dan Rudd made Whitson's acquaintance and interested him in founding the American Catholic Tribune.[82]

Though not wealthy, Whitson seems to have put some of his own financial resources into the paper. In a letter to Reverend John Slattery, appealing for the priest's monetary help for his nephew who desired to study for the priesthood, Whitson said as much: "My sister is poor and I have had such a strain on me with the paper, that I have not had a chance to assist him in this direction."[83] But Whitson's association with Rudd was short lived and presumably so was any financial help for the newspaper. In August of 1888 he told Slattery: "Mr. Rudd and I could not agree, and I made up my mind, that it would be best for me to withdraw. However, I will work for the paper till late in the fall. If he can succeed, and do good for humanity, I assure you I will not be any stumbling block."[84]

Another source of revenue was direct contributions to the paper and the school. Occasionally, Rudd made a specific appeal in the newspaper for them[85] and at the end of the Tribune's first year he claimed: "We are glad to say that hundreds of people who feel kindly toward the race, who desire the education and advancement of the Negro have come nobly to our aid and voluntarily helped us to place the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE on its present footing."[86] And it is most probable that on his lecture tours he asked his audience to donate something to his work. In fact, he seemed to indicate as much on one occasion when he told his readers: "We cannot make this journal a mechanical and literary success if four-fifths of our time must be spent on the road instead of in the office. ....To be plain, we need twenty-five hundred dollars."[87]

Occasionally, he publicly acknowledged contributors. "Archbishop Ryan [of Philadelphia]," he wrote, "was one of the first to send us a check for $25 when the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE was battling for a foothold."[88] And after his trip to Europe, he informed the readers that "recognizing the aim of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE and desiring to make it more available to the work among the race His Eminence Cardinal Lavigerie [internationally known for his campaign against slave trade] has started a fund to aid this paper in its efforts."[89] Possibly Archbishop Elder also contributed money to the paper and school,[90] though he was embroiled in his own financial troubles with the bankruptcy of his predecessor, John Baptist Purcell.[91]

Another obvious candidate to act as Rudd's benefactor was Reverend John R. Slattery, mentioned above, Superior General of the Josephite Fathers, avid evangelizer of African Americans, and born of a wealthy family.[92] And because it has been suggested that he may have initially contributed significantly to Rudd's operation, it is worth detailing their relationship, as much as is able, from the sparse evidence that has been so far uncovered.

Slattery's relationship with Rudd appears at best to have been strained. In the first of Rudd's extant correspondence with Slattery the tone is set. Responding to what seems to have been an implied criticism of the pace that planning for the first Afro-American Catholic Congress had taken, Rudd wrote: "You [Slattery] no doubt think that our work has been very slow. Well that may be true, but then we knew it was important and after planting the seed we waited for germination. ....We believe the difficulty [perhaps lack of time and funds] is now removed and you will see some effective work done by us in the immediate future."[93]

Two months later Rudd sent resolutions for the Congress to Slattery, closing with great deference: "Hoping you will not think me intruding on your time and patience and praying an early reply. I am yours obdtly [obediently]."[94] Rudd continued to consult

Slattery, apparently without any response, so that by October he complained: "Why can't we hear from you any more? Now is the time we need your advice and assistance and we hope you will find a moment you can spare from your many duties to send us 'a word of cheer' and counsel."[95]

By the end of October Slattery had finally replied, for Rudd acknowledged the priest's letter and a contribution toward costs for the Congress: "I have only words of deepest gratitude for your timely aid [twenty-five dollars]. ...We have up until this time paid all the expenses to which we have been [subject] from the friends of The American Catholic Tribune."[96] Two months later Slattery was not as generous. Rudd wrote asking for a loan of seventy-five dollars to help in his negotiations with some machine company, presumably about printing equipment. A notation on the letter reads: "Not answered."[97]

By February of the next year Rudd was not as acquiescent as in his earlier correspondence: "The offer of the Rev. Father Scully of Cambridgeport, Mass., to pay for the education of a Colored student for the priesthood should be taken advantage of by your Seminary. Write to him and tell him, if you deem it best, that I had called your attention to the matter."[98] Undoubtedly, such a letter, instructing Slattery about what he ought to do, only served to irritate the proud and paternalistic priest.

Perhaps some of Slattery's acquaintances suspected that the priest was dissatisfied with Rudd and the Tribune. For example, a J. P. Tower of Springfield, Massachusetts, having just read an article by Slattery reprinted in the Cincinnati paper, wrote that more of the same would make Rudd's paper "more readable." He continued by asserting that many in Springfield were not renewing their subscription to the Tribune and by assuring Slattery that the Josephite publication, the St. Joseph Advocate, was much more popular.[99]

A little more than a year later (September 1890), Slattery himself was criticizing the American Catholic Tribune in public. Reporting on the Second Afro-American Catholic Congress, held in Cincinnati, July 8-11, 1890, he wrote:

> The American Catholic Tribune was the object of much discussion. The delegates severely criticized its make-up, matter, poor paper, etc. Dan. A. Rudd, it proprietor, promised henceforth to make it worthy of the cause it espouses. This we hope he will be better able to do when located in Philadelphia, whither he will probably remove it on Jan. 1, 1891. Aided by the talent and energy of Rev. Patrick McDermott, C.H.G., the Catholic Tribune should become a source of incalculable good to the negro race.[100]

Needless to say, no such criticism appeared in Rudd's own book length resume entitled Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses.[101] And next to comments about Rudd's work such as those of Lincoln C. Valle and Archbishop Elder mentioned above, one would not have gathered that any general dissatisfaction with the Tribune existed. Perhaps Slattery was displeased that he had no control over the paper and annoyed by the competition it gave to the Josephite publications, the St. Joseph Advocate and the Colored Harvest.

Two years later (1892) Rudd's name again appeared in Slattery's correspondence. One of the Tribune's former agents, Robert L. Ruffin of Boston, complained to the priest about Rudd's "cupidity."[102] And Slattery, responding to what must have amounted to criticism against some African American Catholic leaders by a fellow Josephite, John A. DeRuyter, wrote:

> While we must deplore the conduct of Rudd, Swann et al genus omne, it seems to me, however, inadvisable to take public action against them. Sooner or later, they will come to grief and we may well bide our time. If you privately warn people or in a general way announce from the pulpit that you have not authorized any newspaper agent to solicit subscriptions, the trouble will be ended.[103]

In April of the next year, Slattery was again writing about Rudd. He was in accord with William Onahan, chairman of the Columbia Congress which was to meet later that year in Chicago in conjunction with the Parliament of Religions, who had suggested that "...a colored man plead for his people at the coming Congress." He also agreed with Onahan "...that neither Father Tolton nor Rudd would answer."[104]

The final known exchange between Slattery and Rudd took place a year and a half later, when the paper had been relocated in Detroit. The priest thanked Rudd for copies of the American Catholic Tribune[105] which contained an illustrated story about the work of the Josephites and promised him a contribution as soon as the "cuts" loaned for the article had been returned.[106] Still, Rudd seemed to continue to trouble some of the Josephites. In a letter to Slattery in September, 1896, Thomas B. Donovan, eventually to be Superior General of the Josephites, suggested that a new paper contemplated by Charles Dorsey, an African American of Baltimore and brother to John Henry Dorsey, a future black Josephite priest, "...could be made to take Rudd's Tribune out of the field."[107]

As far as can be determined, Slattery made at most two contributions to the work of Rudd and once refused. Also, though he generally kept up appearances, it is clear that for some reason -- perhaps because of what he considered an independent spirit on Rudd's part and jealousy of his initial easy access to the black and white, Protestant and Catholic elites or because of the competition the Tribune offered the Josephite publications -- he privately opposed him. Though nothing can be stated conclusively at this point with the evidence at hand, still it seems unlikely that Slattery ever was a major contributor to either the American Catholic Tribune or the printing school.

The final source of funds was the revenue realized from subscriptions, advertising, and job printing. Rudd claimed:

> ...we are now running one of the largest, and certainly the most complete job printing office in Cincinnati. We are prepared to do all kinds of PRINTING, Cards, Letter Heads, Envelopes, Bill Heads, Statements, Books, Pamphlets, Briefs and in fact, all kinds of legal and commercial work. ...We

> keep on hand a full and complete assortment of stationery for Weddings, Parties and Funerals.[108]

But there is no way at present to determine how successful the job printing was or what income it generated.

The same is essentially the case in regard to advertising. On July 13, 1888, advertising rates began to appear: fifty cents per inch, each insertion, and locals ten cents a line, each insertion.[109] Two and half years later, the cost was increased to one dollar per inch and in place of "locals" was a category called "special reading matter" at fifty cents per line, each insertion.[110] And like most great dailies of the time,[111] the Tribune had a policy of no front page advertisements.[112] But whether the published advertising rate was for each edition or for a month or some other period of time was not stated. Therefore, it is difficult determine the revenue that accrued from advertising.

Subscriptions probably provided the surest income for the Tribune. If the claim that the paper had a circulation of ten thousand is true, then at its height Rudd's enterprise earned twenty thousand dollars from subscriptions alone. And it will be remembered that Cooper of the Indianapolis Freeman had declared that "...The Tribune has a paid up circulation, running up into the thousands, and is, perhaps[,] making more cash money than any newspaper in the country published by colored men."[113] Still, Rudd was forever urging readers to pay promptly and to encourage their neighbors to subscribe.[114] Undoubtedly, the Tribune was subscription driven and the collection of payment was as pressing an issue as increasing circulation.[115]

As indicated above, there are no records of what it cost Rudd to operate his establishments. However, some comparisons can be made. In 1885 T. Thomas Fortune estimated that it cost him six hundred dollars a month to publish the Freeman, whereas twenty years later for the Age the expense had risen to one thousand dollars.[116] For smaller papers, not operating their own printing establishments, the financial outlay was significantly less.[117] If these figures correspond to Rudd's costs, it is clear that subscription revenue would have more than covered the publication of the Tribune.[118]

What, then, caused the American Catholic Tribune's collapse in Cincinnati and its demise in Detroit? Perhaps, in addition to growing opposition among those powerful among African American Catholics, were Rudd's own expansionist tendencies. He appears never to have been satisfied with his accomplishments. Through these years the paper regularly reported on new meetings Rudd proposed or attended, new machinery in the Tribune's offices, efforts at expanding the pages of the paper, the start of a satellite office in Chicago,[119] larger quarters for his establishment, and better facilities and more students for his school. At least in Cincinnati this admirable trait of never being satisfied, this ambition always to move beyond the local and the provincial, may have been Rudd's nemesis. He may have simply expanded beyond the resources available to him to cover his operation.

What is certain is that the Cincinnati years were the zenith of Dan A. Rudd's career. By thirty-two years of age he had risen above his beginnings in slavery, moved freely among black and white elites, and founded a newspaper that was unique among both its white and black contemporaries. Dan A. Rudd truly was a remarkable man.

1. See Joseph H. Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," Catholic Historical Review (in press). The present paper depends heavily upon this article for some of the general description of Rudd's position, aims, and philosophy.

2. Rudd claimed that there were at least 200,000 African American Catholics around 1880 and Cyprian Davis seems to agree with him. The History of Black Catholics in the United States (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 168. However, John T. Gillard claimed that the number was greatly inflated. Colored Catholics in the United States (Baltimore: The Josephite PRess, 1941), 86. James Hennesey, a more recent historian, accepts the number of 100,000 in 1883. American Catholics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 191.

3. Gazette, "Race Press," March 21, 1891, p. 1; also see: February 14, 1891, p. 1; February 21, 1891, p. 1; March 28, 1891, p. 1; April 2, 1892, p. 1; June 6, 1891; January 2, 1892, p. 1; July 9, 1892, p. 1. August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964), 31.

4. Freeman, January 4, 1890, pp. 1, 5.

5. See John F. Marszalek and C. James Haug, "The Freeman's Ten Greatest Blacks: A People's Poll" Mid-America 67 (1985): 55-68. Professors Marszalek and Haug initially supplied the author with information about Rudd's nomination in the contest. The nomination was made by a reader from New Orleans and record of it appears in Freeman, May 24, 1890, p. 7.

6. Citations from the American Catholic Tribune [hereafter, ACT] are taken from the microfilm of the newspaper, which is available from the American Theological Library Association, Board of Microtext. It contains all known extant copies. See ACT, February 8, 1890, p. 3; August 16, 1890, p. ; October 4, 1890, p. ; December 20, 1890, p. 3. One of the more famous visitors was Ida B. Wells-Barnett, whom Rudd called "one of the most brilliant women journalists...." And in 1894 he ran a three column story on her efforts to make the world aware of the rash of lynchings in the United States. ACT, July 13, 1888, p. 2; "One Woman's Work," ACT,

August 24, 1894, p. 2.

7. Wendell P. Dabney, Cincinnati's Colored Citizens (Cincinnati: The Dabney Publishing Company, 1926; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 107.

8. See ACT, February 2, 1889, p. 33; February 9, 1889, p. ; April 6, 1889, p. 2; May 18, 1889, p. 2; November 29, 1890, p. ; Dabney, passim.

9. "Dan A. Rudd. A Notable Reception in Recognition of His Services to the Church and His Race," Enquirer, May 10, 1889, p. 4; "Reception to D. A. Rudd," Commercial Gazette, May 10, 1889, p. 8.

10. David L. Calkins, "19th Century Black History: A Bibliographic Essay," The Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin 28 (1970): 169.

11. The Congress was held in Baltimore in the fall of 1889. The letter was dated, July 31, 1889, and appeared along with Rudd's picture in the Souvenir Volume of Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States (Detroit, Michigan: William H. Hughes, Publisher, 1889), viii, xvi, 20-21.

12. See ACT, July 6, 1889, p. 2; November 16, 1889, p. 2; December 7, 1889, p. 2; May 16, 1891, p. 2;

13. ACT, November 16, 1889, p. 2.

14. See Davis, 171-194; also Thomas Spalding, "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," Catholic Historical Review 55 (1969): 337-357.

15. Among these were Dr. William S. Lofton, Charles H. Butler, Robert L. Ruffin, and Lincoln C. Valle. For the background and importance of these individuals see Davis, 167-176, 210-213.

16. ACT, October 7, 1887, p. 2.

17. See ACT, July 13, 1889, p. 2; "Cardinal Lavigerie," ACT, September 14, 1889, p. 3; September 14, 1889; August 2, 1890, p. 2; "Cardinals," ACT, January 31, 1891, p. 2.

18. "Dan A. Rudd. A Notable Reception in Recognition of His Services to the Church and His Race," p. 4.

19. Lackner, passim.

20. Eugene P. Willging, Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List, Second Series: Part Twelve: I, Kentucky, and II, Ohio (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1966), a.

21. Henk LaBrie, "Black Newspapers: The Roots are 150 Years Deep," Journalism History 4 (1977-1978): 111.

22. ACT, September 2, 1887, p. 2.

23. Gazette, "Who Is Right," February 25, 1888, p. 2; January 9, 1892, p. 2.

24. See Fortune's letter to Rudd published in ACT, October 6, 1888, p. 2.

25. In rebuttal of the accusation of prejudice at St. Joseph's Church, Bardstown, Rudd made the following astounding claims: "The editor was baptized there in August 1854 at the same font where all the rest, white and black were baptized without discrimination except as to who got there first. At confession all knelt in whatever order they came and awaited their turn to relieve their sin burdened souls.

The editor of the TRIBUNE made his first communion there after the long course of study and instruction one must go through with prior to that event and during the time he and all the other Colored and white children sat together and when the late venerable Archbishop Spalding, then Bishop of Louisville, on the same bright June morning in 1863 administered the sacrament of confirmation. The TRIBUNE man knelt beside as fair a damsel as ever bowed before that rail and thought nothing of it. We have been all over St. Joseph's Church from foundation stone to pinnacle and no one told us to move." ACT. June , 1887, p. 2.

26. ACT, May 31, 1890, p. 2.

27. Ibid. See also, e.g., ACT May 28, 1889, p. 2; May 1, 1890, p. 2; July 5, 1890, p. 2; December 19, 1891, p. 2. Though Roman Catholic theology may have countenanced no race prejudice, it is certainly obvious that Rudd's experience was not that of all, probably most, African American Catholics.

28. See, e.g., ACT, July 19, 1890, p. 1. Though the Tribune's intent was to present the Catholic Church and its events to African Americans, like many other black papers most of the paper was devoted to material of a secular nature. Social reports on individuals in the cities served by the paper; accounts of the sessions of Congress and the Ohio State Legislature; excerpts from a great variety of black and white newspapers and magazines througout the country; recipes; news about developments in fashion, agriculture, science, and wildlife; anecdotes; humor; short stories; and poetry all found a place within the paper.

29. See, e.g., ACT, June 29, 1888, p. 2; May 28, 1889, p. 2; July 5, 1890; July 19, 1890, p. 1; Decemmber 19, 1891, p. 2.

30. See, e.g., ACT, June 22, 1888, p. 2; June 29, 1888, p. 2; September 21, 1888, p. 2; May 28, 1889, p. 2; December 19, 1891, p. 2.

31. Davis, 152. Contrary to Rudd's optimism about the universal acceptance of Tolton, see Davis, 152-162.

32. ACT, August 31, 1888, p. 2.

33. Rudd wrote that he desired to have a correspondent in every black community in the United States. ACT, August 24, 1888, p. 2. Among his correspondents and agents were Charles H. Butler of Washington, D.C., Robert L. Ruffin of Boston, Henrietta Cook of Baltimore, and Lincoln Valle of Chicago. For information on Butler, Ruffin, and Valle see Davis, 169, 181-183, 210-213. In this effort at a national audience the Tribune, like the Freeman and the New York Globe, stood out among the black papers of the day, whose circulation was generally confined to the city in which they were published. See Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Business History Review 40 (1966): 475-476.

34. See Lackner.

35. Willging, 170.

36. Armistead Scott Pride, "A Registrar And History of Negro Newspapers in the United States: 1827 - 1950" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1950, 326-327.

37. Georgetta Merritt Campbell, Extant Collections of Early Black Newspapers: A Research Guide to the Black Press, 1880-1915 (Troy, New York: The Whitston Publishing Company, 1981), xxii.

38. Another researcher, David L. Calkins, put the number of black nineteenth century newspapers in Cincinnati at five. However, four of these titles were not listed by Pride. "A Bibliography of the 19th Century Cincinnati Negro Community," Cincinnati, 1970, 41. (Mimeographed.) There are also a few references to black papers in Cincinnati scattered through the pages of the Tribune not mentioned by either Pride or Calkins. For example, at the end of 1891 Rudd wrote: "The American, a paper published for the last few months by Mr. Geo. O'Bannon of this city, has gone to join the silent majority of Negro newspapers that have been published or rather started in Cincinnati." ACT, November 21, 1891, p. 2. And a year later he declared: "Much has been said recently in this city about a race paper etc. Everybody who knows anything about Cincinnati, knows enough to know that what is usually termed a race paper, has never yet lived through two campaigns, in this city. For six years the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE has been the only permanent Afro-American element in the journalism of this city, unless one takes into account the Negro departments in the dailies." ACT, December 10, 1892, p. 2. Also see a comment by Dabney, 189-190.

39. The dates of publication he gives, 1884-1889, are wrong. The paper was published in Cincinnati from 1886 to 1894 and then in Detroit until 1897.

40. Even Campbell, who depends on Pride's work, does not list the paper among those whose copies are extant. Among Roman Catholics the American Catholic Tribune and its editor are little known. The best treatment of the paper and Rudd to date is found in Davis, 164-194.

41. The Tribune's subscription rate was typical of black papers of the time. See Thornbrough, 475.

42. With the September 24, 1892, issue the Tribune began publishing eight pages with six columns per page. However, by November 19, 1892, it had returned to four pages, though it maintained the six columns per page until the edition of April 26, 1894.

43. The last issue in which it appeared was dated February 25, 1887.

44. These words were found from June 1, 1889, to January 10, 1891.

45. Originally published on Friday, it changed its publication date to Saturday in the last week of September or the first week of October, 1888, and then to Thursday in February of 1894. ACT, September 21, 1888, p. 1; October 6, 1888, p. 1; February 1, 1894, p. 1.

46. Originally located at 233 West Fourth Street, the Tribune's offices moved to 355 Central Avenue at the end of 1887 because, Rudd claimed, business had necessitated more space. In 1891 they relocated once again to 486 Central Avenue. William's Cincinnati Directory,1887-1888 (Cincinnati: William's Directory, 1887), p. 1213; ACT, October 7, 1887, p. 2; February 7, 1891, p. 2; March 7, 1891, p. 2.

47. The breakdown or replacement of machinery, the relocation of the office, or the occupation of the editor in some important event was responsible for late or missed editions. ACT, April 1, 1888, p. 2; August 24, 1888, p. 2; November 17, 1888, p. 2; March 22, 1890, p. 2; March 29, 1890, p. 2; June 7, 1890, p. 2; July 18, 1891, p. 2; December 16, 1893, p. 2; August 18, 1894, p. 2.

48. The more lasting African American papers of the day were four pages with either six or seven columns per page. The Cleveland Gazette, for example, had seven columns, whereas the Washington Bee had six columns. Both were four pages. Also see Thornbrough, 486.

49. LaBrie, 111; Thornbrough, 467-468.

50. Dabney, 189-190. He was quoting a toast made by another black Cincinnatian, William L. Anderson. In contrast, Dabney specifically mentions that "... Dan Rudd's paper, The Catholic Tribune, lasted several years." (190) Also see Thornbrough, 471.

51. LaBrie, 111. Marszalek and Haug note that Cooper often claimed that the Freeman had a readership of 100,000, but they estimate that the number of papers that were actually sold was 2,500. Also see Thornbrough, 474-475.

52. Willging, 80.

53. Freeman, January 4, 1890, p. 5.

54. Frederick G. Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922), 113.

55. ACT, February 18, 1887; July 8, 1887; January 13, 1888; July 6, 1888; January 12, 1889; July 6, 1889; January 11, 1890; July 5, 1890; January 10, 1891; July 18, 1891; January 16, 1892; July 9, 1892; January 28, 1893; August 12, 1893; February 1, 1894.

56. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), 505. Royal Baking Powder, which Mott records had the largest advertising budget of the time ($600,000), also placed adds in the Tribune. Mott, 506. ACT, January 11, 1890; August 12, 1893; February 1, 1894.

57. L. W. Reilly to Editors and Publishers, August 11, 1889, Archives of the University of Notre Dame [hereafter AUND].

58. Louis W. Reilly, "The Weak Points of the Catholic Press," American Ecclesiastical Review, 10 (1894): 124.

59. ACT, January 16, 1892.

60. Detweiler, 113; Thornbrough, 477.

61. LaBrie, 111. Obviously, one factor impacting upon subscriptions was literacy. Thornbrough indicates that "...the illiteracy rate for the entire Negro population over ten years of age was 70 per cent." Of course, there was a higher frequency of literacy among African Americans in the North than in the South. 472.

62. ACT, September 28, 1889, p. 2.

63. ACT, June 14, 1890, p. 2.

64. ACT, December 8, 1888, p. 2.

65. LaBrie, 111; Thornbrough, 485.

66. Ibid., 111-112.

67. ACT, August 24, 1888, p. 2.

68. ACT, April 27, 1889, p. 2.

69. "The Catholic Church and the Negro," reprinted from the St. Louis Advance in ACT, October 12, 1889, p. 2.

70. ACT, June 14, 1890, p. 2.

71. ACT, August 24, 1888, p. 2; October 20, 1888, p. 2.

72. "Industrial Schools," reprinted from the Evening Post in ACT, March 12, 1892, p. 2.

73. "For Colored Youth," reprinted in ACT, March 12, 1892, p. 2.

74. ACT, March 5, 1892, p. 2; March 12, 1892, p. 2.

75. ACT, December 10, 1892, p. 2.

76. In 1866 Rudd's brother William of Bardstown purchased a piece of property for five hundred dollars. Four years later the census indicated that his real estate was worth one thousand dollars. That census also listed Dan A. Rudd, then sixteen years old, on the Bardstown rolls in the house of this brother, along with his mother Elizabeth and his sisters Anise and Belle. And in 1874 William acquired another piece of property, valued at two thousand dollars.

His sister-in-law, Jemimah, wife of Rudd's brother Charles Henry, who had migrated to Springfield, Ohio, in 1865, bought a piece of property there in that year for two hundred and fifteen dollars. The record specifically mentions that it was purchased "out of her own separate means." Less than four years later she and her husband made a considerable profit by selling the property for one thousand, three hundred and twenty-five dollars. And then at the end of December, 1871, she acquired another lot in Springfield, site of the Rudd home into the twentieth century, for five hundred dollars.

A correlation between middle class and property value has not been determined for Bardstown and Springfield. But Leonard Harding has shown that $999.51 constituted the mean value of property held by middle class blacks in Cincinnati in 1870. Even without supposing that such a value would be less for Springfield and Bardstown, the Rudd families qualify as middle class on Harding's terms. Deed Book of Nelson County, Kentucky, volume 34, p. 198; volume 39, pp. 446-447. Federal Census of 1870, Nelson County, Kentucky, 491. Records of Deeds, Clark County, Ohio, volume 44, p. 37; volume 52, p. 162; volume 56, p. 104. Leonard Harding, "The Negro in Cincinnati, 1860-1870" (M.A. thesis, University of

Cincinnati, 1967), 62.

77. The 1870 census indicates that James T. Whitson, 17 years old, a clerk in a drugstore, lives with his father Thomas, 60 years old, a railroad employee, his mother Johana, 58 years old, keeping house, and a sister Ruth, 23 years old, and a brother Harry, 21 years old, in Pittsburgh. Interestingly, the whole family is designated as white and their place of origin listed as Ireland. However, it is obvious from an engraving that appeared in the Cleveland Gazette that Whitson is clearly African American. In a letter to John Slattery, first Superior General of the Josephite Fathers, an American Roman Catholic religious order dedicated to the evangelization of blacks, Whitson wrote that he was born a Catholic, while his parents were both converts to Roman Catholicism. The Federal Census of 1870, Pittsburgh, 201; Whitson to Slattery, July 1, 1888, 9-K-1, Josephite Archives [hereafter JA].

78. "Dr. J. T. Whitson," Gazette, July 7, 1888, p. 1.

79. Ibid. Also see the 1880 census which lists him as a school teacher along with his mother who is recorded as widowed. The place of birth of both is given as Pennsylvania. The Federal Census of 1880, Ripley, Ohio, 306.

80. Ibid. In a personal conversation in 1993 with the archivist of Case Western Reserve University the author was told that the university records indicates that Whitson was a graduate of the school.

81. Ibid. Also see Gazette, June 20, 1885, p.1; July 18, 1885, p. 1; August 1, 1885, p. 1.

82. Ibid.

83. Whitson to Slattery, July 1, 1888, 9-K-1, JA.

84. Whitson to Slattery, August 10, 1888, 10-B-31, JA. Rudd alienated at least one other early African American collaborator, Robert L. Ruffin of Boston. In 1892 Ruffin wrote to Slattery: "...I cannot satisfactorily explain it here but Rudd's intrigue and cupidity has jeopardized [sic] my life Father which I would like to fully tell you face to face." What Rudd had done is not known but it is clear that he gradually began to lose favor among both the white and African American Roman Catholic elite around 1890. And, therefore, he began to lose a source of money for his Cincinnati enterprise. Ruffin to Slattery, February 18, 1892, 9-H-26, JA.

85. ACT, January 26, 1889; April 12, 1890; August 9, 1890.

86. ACT, October 7, 1887, p. 2.

87. ACT, January 26, 1889, p. 2.

88. ACT, November 25, 1887, p. 2.

89. ACT, September 28, 1889, p. 2.

90. Davis has suggested that Elder may helped finance Rudd's trip to the International Anti-Slavery Congress in Europe. Davis, 169.

91. See John H. Lamott, History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921 (New York: Frederick Pustet Company, Inc., 1921), 90.

92. See William L. Portier, "John R. Slattery's Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks," U.S. Catholic Historian 5 (1986):19-44; Jamie T. Phelps, "John R. Slattery's Missionary Strategies," U.S. Catholic Historian 7(1988):201-214.

93. Rudd to Slattery, May 8, 1888, 9-K-8, JA.

94. Rudd to Slattery, July 2, 1888, 9-K-10, JA.

95. Rudd to Slattery, October 2, 1888, 9-K-12, JA.

96. Rudd to Slattery, October 30, 1888, 9-K-13, JA.

97. Rudd to Slattery, December 20, 1888, 9-K-14, JA. Rudd wrote appealingly : "If you can let me have the small amount, which is a great one to me, please let me know at once."

98. Rudd to Slattery, February 8, 1889, 9-K-15, JA.

99. Tower to Slattery, July 20, 89, 9-w-12, JA.

100. John R. Slattery, "The Congress of Negro Catholics," Donahoe's Monthly Magazine, 24 (1890): 271. Contrary to Slattery's prediction that the Tribune would move to Philadelphia, the paper remained a little more than three years longer in Cincinnati before relocating in Detroit. At the time of the criticism, a white man, Reverend John M. Mackey, rector of the Cincinnati cathedral and a principal speaker at the Second Congress, had served as assistant editor for the American Catholic Tribune. He was associated with the paper from the spring of 1889 until January, 1891. In 1891 he was appointed editor of the archdiocesan newspaper, the Catholic Telegraph.

101. "Second Colored Catholic Congress, Held in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1890," in Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses (Cincinnati: American Catholic Tribune, 1893; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1978), 72-127.

102. Ruffin to Slattery, February 18, 1892, 9-H-26, JA.

103. Slattery to DeRuyter, September 14, 1892, P. LPB-1-5, JA. Swann was listed as one of two editors of another black Catholic paper begun in 1892 in Philadelphia. It died before the end of 1892. See Spalding, 355.

104. Slattery to Onahan, April 2, 18933, LPB-1-111, JA. Also see Onahan to Slattery, March 20, 1893, JA.

105. Slattery indicates that the Tribune edition was dated November 10, 1894. At present no issues of the paper have been discovered beyond September 8, 1894.

106. Slattery to Rudd, November 20, 1894, LPB-3-407, JA.

107. Donovan to Slattery, September 9, 1896, 17-K-8, JA.

108. ACT, August 1, 1891, p. 2.

109. ACT, July 13, 1888, p. 2.

110. ACT, December 6, 1890, p. 2.

111. Mott, 496.

112. This practice was only initiated in 1888. The last front page advertisement occurred in the April 13, 1888, issue.

113. Freeman, January 4, 1890, p. 5.

114. See, for example, ACT, June 14, 1890, p. 2; September 20, 1890, p. 2; March 7, 1891, p. 2; May 2, 1891, p. 2; September 10, 1892, p. 2; August 12, 1893, p. 2.

115. In 1891 he wrote: "We would be very thankful if all who are indebted to the AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE would remit promptly as we need every cent due the paper to meet pressing obligations and for current expenses." And in the next year he claimed: "We have three times as much owed to us as the TRIBUNE owes." ACT, March 7, 1891, p. 2; September 10, 1892, p. 2.

116. Thornbrough, 474.

117. Ibid. Thornbrough notes that in 1904 the Boston Guardian spent eighty-five dollars a week.

118. In Detroit Rudd no longer printed the paper himself. See ACT, December 16, 1893, p. 2.

119. The December 6, 1890, edition reported that a Chicago office had been opened. However, it was shortly lived. Within weeks of its opening, the office was badly damaged by fire and by the first weeks of March, 1891, there was no longer any reference to Chicago.

ACT, December 6, 1890, p. 3; December 133, 1890, p. 2; January 31, 1891, p. 2; March 7, 1891, p. 2; March 14, 1891, p. 2.

cS

Rough Flying: The *California Eagle*, 1879-1965

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Rough Flying: The California Eagle, 1879-1965
(Abstract)

The California Eagle was one of the oldest black newspapers in the United States when it folded sometime in 1965. Its origin dates back to pre-boomtown Los Angeles. While the paper never reached the national prominence of some of its contemporaries, the newspaper does provide a substantial chronicle of the development and activities of the black community in Los Angeles.

The Eagle's longest serving publishers (John Neimore, Charlotta and Joseph Bass, and Loren Miller) were at first glance unlikely candidates for sustained newspaper management. However, their desire to make a statement about and a difference in the lives of black people made them, in the author's opinion, significant.

Although the Eagle survived the "separate but equal" era, it ceased publication at what was perhaps the most promising period for blacks in the 20th century. Although the Eagle's end reminds us of the fragility of black newspaper, the newspaper's demise was self-inflicted.

Rough Flying/The California Eagle

Introduction

As far as black newspapers go, the *California Eagle* has received little mention in the classic scholarly works on the black press.[1] There are several possible explanations for this oversight. First, Los Angeles was far from the black population centers east of the Mississippi River and south of the Mason-Dixon line. Second, a woman was the glue that held the newspaper together for most of its existence. Finally, its circulation remained fairly modest for most of its life. Consequently, one could arguably relegate the newspaper to the second tier of black newspapers in comparison to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Chicago Defender*, The *Afro-American* group, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, the *Atlanta Daily World* group or the *Amsterdam Star-News.*

However, were it not for a black man fleeing a Texas where Reconstruction had failed, a black woman seeking refuge from damp Rhode Island and a Kansas lawyer saying "Eureka" after a visit to the City of Angels, there would be no substantial, sustained contemporary chronicle of the history of black people in Los Angeles from the city's rise from a cowtown to one of America's premier cities. The history of Los Angeles' first black newspaper in its various appellations is perhaps a metaphor for blacks in America, an entity struggling to survive under less than ideal circumstances.

The Neimore Years (1879 - 1912)

It is not known why when John J. Neimore left Texas for

California he settled in Los Angeles rather than San Francisco. Lapp noted the lure of gold attracted the earliest black settlers to northern California and San Francisco.[2] There were no delegates from Los Angeles County at the First Colored Convention in 1855 when blacks mounted their first organized attempt to improve upon their second class status in California.[3]

According to Sepia magazine, Neimore left an unidentified Texas town after witnessing the torturous murder of a black man at the hands of some cowboys.[4] Neimore longed for a better place to live where he could avoid the fate of the man he had watched die before his eyes. Somehow, he had been exposed to the California fable:

> "Neimore had heard of the little Spanish town (of Los Angeles) in the state of California, where all races lived as one, where a man's color wasn't the yardstick used to measure his worth."[5]

The actual date of the newspaper's founding is a matter of debate. Garrot described Neimore as a Texan who had attended Sam Houston College in Austin before coming to California in 1888 and started the Eagle three years later.[6] Thus, the founding date would be circa 1891. However, Garrot's 1888 dates may have been a typo or poor reporting. Other sources place the founding of the Eagle in 1879 with an exact date of April 8, 1879 and the earliest extant copy of the paper is January 31, 1914.[7]

The Garrot story does indicate Neimore was literate. Combining this quality with Sepia's account of Neimore's arrival in 1879 "with one dime in the pocket of his only suit of clothes"[8] provides for a plausible background of a person who had the determination and baseline skills necessary to put out a paper.

From 1879 to February 1912, Neimore published Los Angeles' first black newspaper. With an affection for birds, Neimore's first name for his newspaper was The Owl,[9] suggesting he wanted his publication known for its wisdom. For some reason, Neimore changed the name of the newspaper to the Eagle in later years.

When Neimore's publication started, Los Angeles was a black community of about 100 people (see Table 1) who were less than two per cent of the city's population.

Insert Table One Here

By comparison, San Francisco's 1880 black population totaled 1,628 and had two black newspapers.[10] Since no extant copies of the Eagle exist for this early period, it is difficult to verify which causes the paper championed. Since the history of the early black press is one of advocacy medium, it is not unrealistic to expect the Eagle to have done the same thing. Snorgrass indicated the San Francisco area black press was concerned with such matters as police brutality, corruption and prison conditions. [11]

The Sepia profile indicated Neimore first focused on the need to raise living standards for everyone in the city by creating jobs, churches, schools and hospitals but the influx of more people, particularly whites from the south forced him to change his focus:

> "With the migration of whites from the south, bringing with them the prejudices that had been bred into them all their lives, Neimore saw danger ahead for the Negro in California. He knew that something had to be done to prevent the approaching evil - discrimination." [12]

Neimore managed to eke out a living on a sheerly expanding market. Although he planned a varied and extensive business empire in other California cities,[13] these endeavors failed to materialize in prosperity. According to Bass, When Neimore died his oldest enterprise -- the Eagle -- was in danger of disappearing altogether.[14] Neimore did not have a partner and had not really groomed a successor on his staff. His daughter Bessie had no interest in managing or maintaining the paper. On his deathbed Neimore, one of Los Angeles' pioneering black professionals, asked Charlotta Spears (later Bass) to "promise to keep it (the Eagle) alive."[15]

Neimore's death in February 1912 ended the paper's first era. Sepia credits Neimore's Eagle with becoming "a watchtower for the Negro in Los Angeles and the state of California" as well as using its influence to help get antidiscrimination laws passed.[16] Although the laws were more dramatic than effective, Sepia summed up Neimore's ultimate contribution:

> "The laws were toothless and rigid enforcement was non-existent. However Neimore's battle wasn't lacking in victory. It was through the efforts of this great man that discrimination and segregation never reached the proportions in

> his chosen city of Los Angeles, that are prevalent in the deep south today."[17]

Charlotta Spears (later Bass), Neimore's successor, offers as the newspaper's accomplishments fighting the good fight against discrimination against blacks in public accommodations and equal rights.[18] When Neimore died, Los Angeles' black population was approaching 8,000 with an adult illiteracy rate of less than five per cent -- a substantial development from the dusty pueblo he found in the late 1870s.[19]

The Bass Era

California's weather allegedly had remarkable curative powers.[20] Like many others, Charlotta Spears succumbed to the rumor and went to California in 1910. Although she left the impression she was a New Englander, biographers indicate she was born in Sumter, South Carolina in October 1880 and moved to Providence, Rhode Island before 1900 to live with an older brother.[21] Although she indicates she attended Brown University for some period, she gives no dates or course of study in her biography, Forty Years: Memoirs from the Pages of a Newspaper.

She does not, in her biography, specify the illness that caused her to leave New England for Los Angeles. She only says she did not intend to stay but did. Her Los Angeles newspaper career began largely by accident. She realized she needed a job if she was going to stay and started looking around. Prior to going to Los Angeles, Spears had sold subscriptions and advertising for the Providence Watchman.[22] As fate would have it, Neimore was looking some one to help with the paper and Spears became the Eagle's $5 a week employee in 1910. By her account, she threw herself into the paper learning all she could about it and becoming an asset to Neimore.[23]

There was a problem in trying to honor Neimore's "deathbed" request. No formal documents of transfer were drawn up but that would have mattered little. Saddled with debt, the newspaper and associated assets wound up on the auction block and Spears did not have the money to claim it. Although she apparently attended the auction out of curiosity, she says a junk dealer, who knew of her attachment to the newspaper, asked her if she thought she could make a go of it. When she said she would like to try, he bought the assets of the Eagle for $50 and transferred them to her.[24] She would run the paper for 40 years -- the longest tenure of any publisher of the newspaper.

Spears renamed the paper the California Eagle and embarked upon her career as a newspaper publisher. Although she had now some two years of newspaper experience under her belt, it is arguable if Spears could have kept the Eagle afloat as long as she did without the arrival of Joseph Blackburn Bass. Bass was a Kansan who had some newspaper experience at the Topeka Plaindealer.[25] From Topeka, he too headed west to find his fortune. He operated the Plaindealer in Helena, Montana before moving to Los Angeles in November 1913.[26] It is not known how long after he arrived in Los Angeles it took him to connect with Spears and her paper but there was a connection made. Bass brought to the California Eagle some knowledge of how to put out a newspaper from the business side and Spears had the knowledge of the Eagle's operation under Neimore and the City of Los Angeles. They married in 1914 and became partners in and out of the newspaper business.[27]

Because of his background in newspapers, one might think that Mr. Bass -- known as "J.B." at 6 ft. 3. in. and 300 pounds -- was the driving force behind the early years of the California Eagle towering over his diminutive 5 ft. bride and business partner but this was not so. According to Walter Gordon, Jr., an early Eagle paperboy, Mrs. Bass did most of the writing often covered with printer's ink from her hands-on approach to the newspaper and was in every way a full partner in the publication's operation.[28] J.B., according to Gordon, spent his time on the business end of the paper and did very little writing.[29] The Basses ran the Eagle as a team for until J.B. became ill in 1932. He died in 1934 after a lengthy illness, leaving Charlotta Bass alone again at the helm of the California Eagle.[30] She would continue to run the paper for another 18 years realizing heartbreak once again as she saw her plans for the paper's heir-apparent dashed by World War II.

J.B. and Charlotta Spears Bass had no children.

Publishing the paper and being involved in numerous church, civic and organizational activities apparently left little time for a woman who took over the paper at age 32 to fit motherhood into her schedule. After the death of her husband, she continued to publish the Eagle with the aid of a staff of between three and six people.[31] In the late 1930s, an heir apparent arrived in the person of John Kinloch, a nephew from New York City. Kinloch went to Los Angeles for a visit and like his aunt became enamored with the city and decided to stay. His aunt's newspaper was to be his window to the world of black celebrities and a crucible for learning about and dealing with the issues of the day. Between helping to get the paper out, he managed to live the life of a typical UCLA student, worrying about exams, dating and attending football games.[32] Correspondence to his mother and friends indicated he was having the time of his life chauffeuring his aunt --who by then was one of Los Angeles' black doyennes --and interviewing and hobnobbing with the likes of writers Langston Hughes, and celebrities such as Louise Beavers, Joe Louis and A. Phillip Randolph.[33]

His correspondence indicated Kinloch harbored dreams of becoming a screenwriter and probably thought his aunt and her enterprise might be an entree into the business.[34] Like many young men of his day, he had to put his plans to become rich and famous on hold because he was drafted into the Army. Mrs. Bass tried unsuccessfully to gain an exemption for him.[35]

Kinloch entered the Army in 1943 and was sent to Europe. His first assignment was a company clerk but he later became a member of a public relations unit.[36] Although having a relatively secure support position, he volunteered to serve in the first integrated combat unit in World War II.[37] Pvt. John S. Kinloch was killed in action at the Battle of the Bulge.[38]

There was no doubt that Kinloch was being groomed by Bass as her heir. Gordon, the former paper boy who by 1944 had become an attorney with law offices in the Eagle building, said "John's death tore Mrs. Bass up, he was her heart."[39]

In her 60s, Mrs. Bass was alone again with the Eagle. She ran the paper as publisher and editor for another nine years before selling the paper. Letters from Kinloch to girl friends while he was a college student indicated Bass was always facing financial problems and Kinloch wondered where the money came from to pay the bills.[40] Correspondence with Claude Barnett, the president of the Associated Negro Press news service indicated the Basses were chronically slow or behind in paying its bill.[41] These problems notwithstanding Bass continued her crusade for equality, justice, truth, and the American ideal as she understood it. From her beginning days as publisher, Bass' Eagle was an advocate. Bass, in her biography, took credit for getting blacks hired to work at the Boulder Dam, the Los Angeles County hospital and the telephone companies.[42] She also recounted her criticism of the film Birth of a Nation, the Ku Klux Klan and numerous individual injustice cases.[43] According to long time Los Angeles community area activist, Alice McGrath, the Eagle under Mrs. Bass' leadership was "out front" with the Chicago Defender on the "Sleepy Lagoon/Zoot Suit" murder case.[44] She also took time to run for Los Angeles City Council in 1945 and for Congress in 1950 while she still published the Eagle.

Despite money problems, Bass continued to keep publishing the paper. It is understandable why advertisers were not flocking to buy space in the Eagle. Given the FBI scrutiny of the Black press as detailed in Patrick Washburn's A Question of Sedition[45], it is not inconceivable the FBI made it known to area businesses that the Eagle was not their favorite newspaper.

Bass was nontraditional and a leader. She and her husband were early officers in the Los Angeles unit of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association in the 1920s.[46] Originally a Republican, she became an independent then later a member of the Progressive party. Throughout her life there were either accusations or assumptions that she was a communist, or a communist sympathizer at the very least. Although she had this reputation, long time employee (as a photographer) Vera Jackson said she asked Mrs. Bass about this shortly before her death. Jackson said Bass told her, "I have never been a communist."[47]

The existence of an FBI file on Bass indicates the federal government thought differently.[48] Jackson said Bass paid her only "a meager salary" and she really made her money as a photographer reselling reprints of pictures that appeared in the newspaper to the featured parties.[49] Gordon, said in later years Bass relied on events such as promoting a concert by Paul Robeson at Wrigley Field for income.[50]

The newspaper never became a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation -- not an uncommon practice for black newspapers of this period -- thus it is not possible to provide any independently verified circulation levels for the newspaper during any of the years Bass managed the newspaper. However, the Eagle's circulation as reported by Ayer's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals for the heyday of black newspapers (1940-1950) indicates the Eagle's circulation was 17,600 in 1940 but it had dropped to 10,000 in 1950.[51] Historically, black newspapers have relied more heavily on revenues from subscriptions and single sales rather than advertising revenues because the latter were hard to come by. There is no evidence the Eagle was an exception to this pattern.

There in evidence she wanted to slow down or bring in a partner for her enterprise as early as 1950. Bass told Barnett of the ANP a full or partial share of the paper was available to the person or group with the right "liberal" politics.[52] However, nearly two years would pass before ownership of the Eagle changed. Bass used her personal column, "On the Sidewalk," to announce her resignation at the end of April 1951.[53] Bass decided to sell the Eagle to former city editor Loren Miller.

The fact that the *Eagle* kept publishing despite the deaths of husband and nephew and the loss of such journalistic talent as Almena Davis (Lomax), a former employee who became publisher of the rival *Los Angeles Tribune*, and Miller and advertising salesman Leon Washington -- who both left to start their own rival publication -- as well is a testimony to the managerial skill and determination of Charlotta Bass. She was the driving force that kept the *Eagle* flying for 40 years.

Bass had long been involved in politics. She remained a Republican, failing to heed the famous call of *Pittsburgh Courier* publisher Robert Vann for blacks "to turn Lincoln's picture to the wall."[54] By the time she sold the *Eagle*, she had been western regional director of the 1940 Wendell Wilkie presidential campaign and an unsuccessful candidate for the Los Angles City Council in 1945 and Congress in 1950.[55]

In 1948 Mrs. Bass was one of the founders of the founders of the Progressive Party becoming that party's candidate in her 1950 congressional race. Bass was the Progressive Party's nominee for Vice President of the United States in 1952,[56] making her the first black woman to run for that office in a national election. Running on the slogan "Win or lose, we win by raising the issues," Bass and presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan got less than one per cent of the 60 million votes cast.[57] Bass returned to California in the where she died in April 1969.[58]

The Miller Years

Loren Miller's involvement with the California Eagle was an on-again, off-again relationship that ultimately occupied nearly half of his life in Los Angeles. No stranger to the Eagle, his acquisition of the paper culminated a circuitous route that started approximately 20 years earlier. Miller started writing for the newspaper when he arrived in Los Angeles in the early 1930s and was the paper's city editor by 1932.[59] The son of a biracial marriage, Miller was born in Pender, Kansas in 1903.[60] By the time he showed up at the Basses' Eagle, he had already lived an interesting life. A graduate of Washburn University in Topeka where he also earned a law degree,[61] his undergraduate days were not without incidents or moments of decision. According to a nephew, Miller graduated from high school at 16 then attended Kansas University where he was expelled for "protesting."[62] Although Miller transferred to Howard University, he was appalled by the open discrimination in Washington, DC and decided to return to Topeka to complete his formal education.[63] He had also managed a trip to Russia as part of an interracial group that was going to make a movie about the virtues of communism.[64] However, for all these accomplishments, Miller was proudest of the $1,000 he had won in a writing contest as an undergraduate. "He was a writer at heart," according to nephew Halvor T. Miller, Jr.[65]

Miller left no personal biography and there is no account in Bass' Forty Years of how they met. It is likely as the publisher of the oldest black newspaper in the city, he sought the Basses out. According to Walter Gordon, Jr., "Writing for the Eagle was Loren's way of introducing himself (to Los Angeles) at the time."[66] Impressed with his skill, the Basses brought Miller into their enterprise and by 1932 he was city editor.

As editor, Miller convinced his cousin, Leon H. Washington, Jr. to give up selling clothes in Kansas City, Kansas and come out to Los Angeles to put his sales skills to work selling advertisements for the Eagle.[67] When J.B. Bass became ill in 1932, Mrs. Bass took total charge of managing the newspaper. It is unclear exactly when the working relationship between Mrs. Bass, Miller and Washington changed but it did. Leon's wife Ruth Washington said her husband liked Mr. Bass but about the time he became ill there was a dispute with Mrs. Bass over the payment of some advertising commissions.[68] Washington left the Eagle in 1932 and started his own publication, The Eastside Shopper, that evolved into the Los Angeles Sentinel in 1934.[69] Miller left the Eagle and went to work with his cousin.

The nurturing of future competitors would not be unique to Miller and Washington. In addition to them, Bass' Eagle provided the opportunity for Almena Davis (later Lomax) to gain some additional newspaper experience before she started a rival black newspaper, the Los Angeles Tribune, in 1940. Bass' paper seemed to attract talented people but keeping them was another situation. Either creative and strong personalities did not mesh or the budding newspaper people under her tutelage chafed under her strong will.

Miller handled the editorial page for the Sentinel but the environment of the paper changed in 1948 after his cousin Leon Washington had a stroke. Friction developed between Dora Roberts and Ruth Washington, Leon's wife when they took over daily administration of the paper and Miller left the Sentinel.[70]

The May 1, 1951 issue officially heralded the beginning of the Miller era of what was at the time the oldest black newspaper west of the Rockies.

Miller's platform was prominently displayed:

> The Eagle stands for complete integration of Negroes into every phase of American life through the democratic processes. We favor:
>
> 1. FEPC (Fair Employment Practice Commission(s)) on local, state and national levels.
> 2. Decent housing for all Americans.
> 3. The President's Civil Rights Program.
> 4. Adequate old age pensions and social security.
> 5. Collective bargaining rights for all workmen.
> 6. Development and encouragement of Negro business.
>
> We oppose:
> 1. Jim Crow in all forms.
> 2. Communists and all other enemies of democracy. (71)

The second opposition point is interesting considering Miller's 1932 trip to Russia and the fact that he had written a piece favorable to communism in 1934.[72] However, his newspaper is clear on his view of the Soviet Union in 1952. His first anniversary issue contains a scathing attack ("What the Reds Want") on communists.[73] A more detailed investigation is needed to determine the reason for the change in Miller's position on communism. It should be noted that Miller was undoubtedly aware of the problems Mrs. Bass had running an enterprise as rumors of communist association swirled around her. He (in 1949 and Mrs. Bass in 1946) had already been cited for "un-American" activities by a California Senate committee.[74]

An examination of the editorials in the May anniversary issues of Miller's Eagle indicated concern about a wide range of issues.[75] Among Miller's concerns were police brutality, police and fire department discrimination against black employment and promotion and low membership in the NAACP and Urban League. A civil libertarian, Miller was anti-quota in terms of hiring blacks because they were black. However, he argued that some black person some where could be found who were qualified for most jobs. He was against the death penalty, did not advocate black mass exodus from the South, for the civil rights of Muslims and in general saw little difference between Democrats and Republicans on the issue of civil rights.

While Mrs. Bass spent her non-newspaper energies on politics, the law was Miller's other pursuit. His specialty was civil rights and not surprisingly the Eagle provided a forum for his views on his specialty -- housing. It was in this area that Miller made his legal mark.[76] As early as the 1940s, Miller was handling cases dealing with restrictive covenants. Some of Miller's early work challenging restrictive covenants laid the groundwork for the 1948 landmark Supreme Court decision in Shelley v. Kramer which struck down judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, lauded Miller's work on some of the cases that led to the Brown v. Topeka Board of Education landmark Supreme Court decision overturing the "separate but equal" legal doctrine.[77] Miller also belonged to the Los Angeles chapter of American Civil Liberties Union and assisted collecting data, writing briefs and making arguments in the Alien Land law cases involving the fight of the Japanese who were interned during to recover their property after World War II.[78] A profile of Miller's legal career, described Miller as someone who was called "dangerous" and "a Communist" by those under the spell of McCarthyism and was at times was treated like a "pariah."[79]

California Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown appointed Miller a municipal court judge in 1964 and Miller ceased his career as a newspaper publisher.[80] At the time the Eagle's circulation was approximately 3,000 copies.[81] Smith characterized Miller's appointment to the bench as "almost insulting" because Miller ended his days judging traffic tickets.[82] Judge Miller died on July 14, 1967.[83]

The Tolbert-Young Era

Upon being appointed a judge, Miller sold his interest in the paper to a group of 14 local investors. This group of 13 blacks and one white person would each contribute between $1,000 and $3,000 to acquire the paper for an undisclosed amount.[84] The group would be headed by A.S. "Doc Young, a writer then working at the Los Angles Sentinel, and James Tolbert, an attorney and president of the Hollywood-Beverly Hills NAACP, with Young serving as president and editor and Tolbert the paper's publisher and executive vice president.[85] Under this arrangement, Young would be responsible for the editorial side of the paper and Tolbert would run the business end of things.

The July 2, 1964 issue of the Eagle was the group's first and Young's impact as editor was evident. He transformed the Eagle from standard size to a tabloid format and the paper featured a lot more pictures. The Eagle became a bigger paper, increasing from 12 pages to 58 including an eight page woman's section. In his inaugural issue as editor Young vowed the paper has been transformed into "a bold new Eagle" that would not conform to the stereotype of the Negro press.[86] Although the Eagle's circulation was about 3,000 in Miller's last year, the new Eagle soon had press runs exceeding 21,000.[87] To increase public awareness, the Eagle began twice a day newscasts from its lobby on radio station KDAY-AM.[88]

Editorially, the Tolbert-Young Eagle was a success but the business side of the paper would prove to be its downfall. Joe Bingham, the managing editor, alleges that within months the newspaper had a costs of approximately $4,100 a week and advertising revenue of approximately $2,000 and ran up unpaid bills of $25,000 in four months.[89] Tolbert and Young ceased to have a viable working relationship and Young resigned in November after only four months with the paper.[90] Although he had no significant editorial experience, Tolbert became editor. The quality of the paper deteriorated fast dropping to as few as 25 pages for some issues after Young left in October. Publication was suspended on January 7, 1965.[91] It had taken less than six months to kill a newspaper that had lasted by and large for 85 years.

Tolbert said there was an attempt to revive the paper as a shopper but for all practical purposes the Eagle was dead by the end of 1964 and he admitted he was not the best person to run it editorially.[92] Young attributed the Eagle's failure to poor management on the business side, particularly to lack of attention to detail, along with "ego, envy, jealousy, incompetence (and) resentments" among the staff.[93]

Conclusion

Although the Eagle is now another tombstone in the graveyard of black newspapers, its significance should not be ignored. It served as the training ground for the publishers of two other black newspapers, one of which -- the Los Angeles Sentinel -- still survives. Any serious historical examination of black life in Los Angeles between 1914 - 1965 must examine the pages of the Eagle to know what was happening in, to and about the black community. While Ida B. Wells is often the most mentioned of the black women journalists, the author would argue the career of Charlotta Spears Bass deserves comparable celebration. Her newspaper career is truly significant as well as noteworthy. By the same token, Miller may be one of the least known and underappreciated black intellectuals of the 20th century who left a 35 year record of service that is yet to be adequately chronicled.

Looking back on the Eagle's history, one is left to ponder it with a series of "what if" scenarios. What if Neimore had gone to San Francisco? What if Bass, Miller and Washington could have worked together or longer? What if Kinloch could have remained with the paper or returned from the war alive and relatively unscathed? What if Lomax had remained with it? Would one strong voice for Los Angeles' black community have been better than three? Although history cannot be changed, it can be recorded. There are numerous similar histories of black newspapers waiting to have their stories told.

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Table One

Black Population in Los Angeles: 1870 - 1930

Year	Total Population	Black	Percentage
1870	5,728	93	1.6
1880	11,183	102	.9
1890	50,395	1,285	2.5
1900	102,479	2,131	2.10
1910	319,198	7,599	2.30
1920	576,673	15,579	2.50
1930	1,238,048	38,894	3.10

Source: U.S. Census Data cited in J.M. Bond, The Negro in Los Angeles, (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates: 1972.

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Simeon Saunders Booker: Washington Bureau Chief

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the life and career of Simeon Booker, pioneering journalist. In 1952, Booker broke through the barriers of racism to become the first African-American to report for The Washington Post. A Neiman Fellowship scholar, he was the first Washington bureau chief and White House correspondent for Johnson Publishing Company's Ebony and Jet magazines. Booker's career as a journalist in Washington, DC spans almost four decades.

During the height of the civil rights movement, Booker predicted the decreasing national distribution of Black weeklies and foresaw the need for a national publication that covered national news of concern to the African-American community. As a civil rights reporter, he expanded the role of the Black press, enterprising stories about national government and its activities during the civil rights movement.

Illumination of his career and experiences, which this paper provides, are valuable to the history of journalism, the Black press and American government.

SIMEON SAUNDERS BOOKER:
WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm published Freedom's Journal, the first African-American newspaper, on March 16, 1827. The first issue informed their readers simply and unequivocally: **"We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly."** (1)

These words express one of the most important themes of the history of the African-American press -- self expression. Through print culture, African-Americans expressed their concerns. (2)

During the middle of this century, Simeon S. Booker, White House correspondent and Washington bureau chief for Johnson Publishing Company for almost four decades, created a national voice for African-Americans and dedicated his life and career to fostering this role. What is more, Booker broke through the barriers of racism to report for a major daily newspaper in Washington, DC. As the first of his race to report for the Washington Post, his footnote in the history of that newspaper is secure. (3) But the story of his survival and dedication to providing a national medium through which to express the African-American experience is untold. (4)

Booker always wanted to be a reporter. He said, "I always liked to write. When I was a student at Virginia Union, Carl Murphy sent me a press pass. I wrote stories and sent them for publication in the Baltimore Afro-American." (5)

Early in his career, Booker won awards for excellence in journalism and he was the second African-American Neiman Fellow.(6) But he was not satisfied with excellence and success in his chosen career. An examination of Booker's life and work, which this paper offers, reveals Booker's commitment to providing a national voice for the African-American community.

First, convinced that a major daily offered the opportunity to give a national voice to the African-American experience, Booker successfully challenged racism to become a staff reporter for the Post. In addition, he anticipated a change in the structure of the Black press. Predicting the decreasing national distribution of Black weeklies, Booker foresaw the increased need for a national publication that covered national news of concern to the African-American community. Booker returned to the Black press and, using his Washington, DC experience, became Washington bureau chief of Johnson Publishing Company's Ebony and Jet magazines.

Moreover, Booker recognized that the story of the civil rights movement went beyond the peaks and falls of civil rights activities. He understood the importance of providing African-American readers with stories of the response of national government and how its deliberations and activities affected their rights and quality of life. Finally, as Washington bureau chief of Ebony, Booker created a publication that affected the national agenda.

BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

Born on August 27, 1918 in Baltimore, Maryland, Simeon Booker grew up in Youngstown, Ohio. After graduating from Virginia Union University in 1942, Booker was hired as a reporter by Carl Murphy, publisher of the Baltimore _Afro-American_.

In 1945, Booker moved to Cleveland and joined the staff of the _Cleveland Call and Post_ where he won a Wendell Wilkie Award for a series on education.

In 1950, Booker was awarded a Harvard University Neiman Fellowship. Breaking the fellowship tradition, he did not return to his former paper. He said: "The _Call and Post_ was a Republican newspaper and very much out of sync. I didn't want that, and I had always aspired to work for a daily." (7) After completing the fellowship program, Booker wrote letters of inquiry to 25 dailies, including the _New York Times_ and the _Washington Post_.

In 1952, he was hired by publisher Philip Graham as the first African-American reporter for the _Washington Post_. Disgruntled and unhappy with what he characterized as "prejudice inside and outside of the job," Booker left the _Post_ in 1954. (8)

After leaving the _Post_, Booker moved to Chicago and began reporting for Johnson Publishing Company. During his three years in Chicago, Booker became more and more convinced that Johnson Publishing should have a Washington bureau. In 1957, he became the first Washington bureau chief for the Johnson Publishing Company magazines _Ebony_ and _Jet_. Booker is bureau chief today.

Booker and his wife, Carol, live on Capitol Hill in Washington, DC with their son, Theodore Booker.

REPORTING IN SEGREGATED WASHINGTON, DC

A telephone call from Philip Graham, publisher of the Washington Post, was the only answer Booker received to the 25 letters of inquiry he sent to dailies for reporting opportunities. Booker recalls that Graham was very much to the point, "He was quite direct. He said come to Washington, find yourself a job and the first opening available here will go to you." (9) Graham kept his word.

When Booker joined the staff of the Washington Post in 1952 as its first African-American reporter, he was sure the power of a daily would enable him to report the news of the African-American experience through the voice of a major daily. What he discovered in the newsroom of the Post and in the nation's capital was racial prejudice.

Booker was not naive and he had felt the sting of racial discrimination. Growing up in Youngstown, Ohio, his father, Simeon Saunders Booker, was a YMCA secretary. After young Booker graduated high school, he attended Youngstown College, a school started by the YMCA. He left after one year because the school's administrators discriminated against the Black students. He said: "The college refused to give Black students activity cards and things like that. I was a young militant and protested our treatment." (10)

Booker was also a seasoned civil rights reporter by the time he went to work for the Post. He witnessed, first-hand, the brutality and cruelty of racial hatred. He was aware of the plight of African-Americans in the South although he had not yet covered lynchings and murders there.

But he was unprepared for the racial prejudice he experienced while working at the Post. Booker said: " I had a hard time covering fires because the police wouldn't let me near the place if it was in a white neighborhood." (11)

While taking a telephone obituary of a woman who died at the segregated Freedmen's Hospital, Booker assumed the woman was Black. The voice on the other end cautioned him not to "make a mistake now, she's no nigger." (12) Racial discrimination also affected his ability to cover stories of national government. He said: "I couldn't eat downtown. Like the time I was covering a case at the Federal Trade Commission. All of the other reporters could go to lunch with the lawyers and get inside information; I was left out." (13) Racial discrimination was not only a hindrance to his work. In the Post newsroom, discrimination was personal. Booker said: I could only use one washroom on the editorial floor of The Post." (14) Washington Post biographers agree that Booker was not made comfortable in the newsroom. (15)

After two years, Booker left the Post. "It was a real tense situation and had me neurotic," he said. (16) The "neurosis" he felt may be directly attributed to an equally difficult experience.

Booker felt that when he was assigned to cover desegregation activities, he was being compromised as a reporter.

"Yes, I was given the opportunity to report," he said, "But I was also asked to report these activities from a different vantage point. I was being asked to give an account as an informer might be asked to report." (17)

These circumstances made Booker extremely uncomfortable. Washington was one of the most segregated cities in the country during the early 1950s and the desegregation efforts of Black leaders were important to the White community. Booker felt he was being asked to compromise himself in the role of informer. (18) Booker's concerns were, no doubt, influenced by his knowledge of the role of the daily newspapers of the South. These newspapers routinely printed the names and addresses of African-Americans who joined the NAACP or registered to vote so that segregationists could harass them. (19)

Today, Booker is reticent about the two-year Post experience. He said: "These are things that are over and done. They are not the subjects I want to discuss." (20) In a 1974 interview, Booker gave the Post management credit for hiring and taking a special interest in him." (21)

Booker's Post by-lines reflect general news assignments. Although some articles are obviously reports of news affecting the African-American community in Washington, the Post editors did not limit the scope of his assignments to the Black community.

On March 3, 1953, he reported a speech by James B. Crey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, to the annual charter day exercises of Howard University. Crey challenged educators to react indignantly to Congressional investigations into American education, calling for a new liberalism against totalitarian influence. (22)

In "Pastors Join in Fight on Crime Here," Booker reports on the meeting of a an interdenominational alliance of African-American ministers. During the meeting, alliance members "declared war on the District's skyrocketing crime wave." (23)

Booker's by-lines are also found above articles that were of interest to the Washington, DC community at-large. On May 29, 1953, he wrote an article on the local transit company's request for a fare increase. (24) A follow-up piece, with his by-line, appeared on the front page on June 2, 1953. The article described the Interstate Commerce Commission examiner's response of "shock" at the transit company's idea of a fair rate of return on its rate base. (25)

Booker covered a national story for the Post on a speech by President Eisenhower to the United Negro College Fund. He wrote that President Eisenhower "rearmed his campaign promises against 'second class citizenship' in the United States.'" **(26)**

RETURN TO THE BLACK PRESS

Booker's life-long interest in journalism was fostered by his exposure to two newsmen. He remembers growing up in Youngstown, Ohio, observing the Youngstown Vindicator's Black reporter who wrote "Daily Notes for Colored People." The reporter essentially had his own page in the Vindicator which reported news and carried ads of special interest to the African-American community. (27) The most influential experience however was Booker's exposure to publisher Carl Murphy. Murphy attended Harvard with Booker's uncle and took a special interest in Booker's career. While he was a student at Virginia Union University, Booker worked part-time as a stringer for Murphy's Afro-American. (28)

From its inception, the African-American press served as an advocate for self-determination and a medium for defining self-identity among African-American people. (29) At the same time, it served its most important role as a medium through which Afro-Americans voiced their discontent with injustices and violations of their civil rights. The abolitionist Black press urged government to abolish slavery in the country. The Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era found the Black press vigilant in its attempt to get the government to end racial violence against African-Americans. The Black press of the modern civil rights movement reported and supported the activities of the civil rights movement and its leaders.

African-American weeklies were widely distributed during the late 1950s and, as a whole, reached a national readership. During those years of boycotts, demonstrations and court victories and defeats, the weeklies had little trouble keeping up with the news. But as the civil rights movement became more intense and the federal government moved to pass major civil rights legislation, the task became particularly difficult for the weeklies. Booker wrote: "As the civil-rights era wore on, the clamor for integration and the broadening horizon of opportunity changed the picture. The powerful Negro newspapers bowed from the national market and turned their attention to the immediate regions or cities. The catalyst for this shift of emphasis was a broadening base of operations, which found the Negro press unable to keep up with the fast-breaking and spreading civil-rights activities." (30)

The major dailies began to cover the breaking news stories of the civil rights era. Although African-Americans had always used the Black weeklies to augment their daily newspaper reading, they began to depend more heavily on the White press as it began to print the details of the movement and government's response to the demands of the movement's leaders. More and more, African-American readers turned to the daily press for information on the civil rights movement. The White press could not ignore the biggest news story of the 1960s and assigned experienced reporters to cover the beat.

When Booker went to the Post, he saw the opportunity to both work for a major daily and continue to cover the most important stories in and about the African-American community. He discovered that the change in venue was not the solution to the dilemma.

Booker's decision to return to the Black press was a particularly difficult one for him. The Black weeklies had a heavy staple of sensational news and coverage of Black society, celebrities and stars. (31) He was torn between a need to report on matters of substance and a venue that was more far-reaching than a weekly. In 1954, when Booker joined the Johnson Publishing Company staff in Chicago, he was sure that Ebony magazine had the national circulation to serve his purpose. The key was to convince John H. Johnson, owner of Johnson Publishing, that the idea of a Washington bureau had merit.

Booker's major selling point was built on the changes he observed in Washington, DC. The city was being forced into desegregation. Its major industry, and Booker's proposed new beat, the federal government, was legislating voting and civil rights throughout the South. It was beginning also to implement changes within it own bureaucracy.

At the same time, Booker saw diplomats from African countries enter the city to conduct business and attend receptions and White House dinners. Eisenhower appointed Chicago lawyer, J. Ernest Wilkins as Assistant Secretary of Labor. (32) During his second term, he appointed E. Frederic Morrow, the first African-American White House aide. (33) Albeit slowly, major changes were taking place in Washington, DC.

A NATIONAL VOICE

A Washington bureau meant that Ebony and Jet magazines could report the civil rights movement and its progress throughout the country directly from the center of the government's efforts. Booker edited "Ticker Tape," a small column in Jet that carried weekly accounts of Washington while he filled the pages of Ebony with interviews of the African-American presidential appointees and analyses of current legislation.

Booker's Ebony by-lines, which frequently carried the identification of Washington Bureau Chief, were found on features that were generally several pages long and accompanied by effective photographs. These articles were not merely advocacy pieces designed to increase reader awareness of the importance of the civil rights movement. Booker said: "Washington bureau chief means affecting how the news is handled, enterprising stories and providing our readers with adequate background for understanding the importance of an event or person." (34)

Indeed, the Booker articles were in-depth news accounts which provide background for context. Articles on people were eloquently written profiles that were not prone to hyperbole and included a balanced view. Booker's exclusive and one-on-one interviews was an impressive list of Washington's most powerful officials. (35)

In January 1961 just before the inauguration of John F. Kennedy, Booker wrote an Ebony piece on what African American citizens could expect from the administration of the new, young president. While the article was positive, it began with a sobering statement about Kennedy. He wrote: "And yet, despite the facade of optimism, the new President is no tub-thumping liberal, no active civil righter of the cloth of Minnesota's Sen. Hubert Humphrey or Illinois Sen. Paul Douglas. Kennedy has few Negro personal friends and isn't discussant on the ways and means of civil rights." (36) The article presented a thorough analysis of what Kennedy might do as president. Providing context through campaign speeches, comparisons to the preceding administration and interviews with Kennedy aides and friends, Booker explored the proposed Kennedy legislative program and conjectured as to its possibility for success. In addition, this article speculated on the possible appointments of African-Americans and painstakingly looked at candidates, their qualifications and the advantages and disadvantages of the appointments for the administration as well as the African-American community.

As Kennedy prepared to become the new president, E. Frederic Morrow left the White House and the pressures of the Eisenhower administration. In an April 1961 profile, Booker introduced his readers to Morrow who was the first African-American to serve as an aide in the White House. (37) Although appointed by Eisenhower in 1953, Morrow was not well known. Booker reported Morrow was a quiet and competent administrator who respected Eisenhower's "rigid no publicity code." (38) Eisenhower and his advisors felt the timing was not right for the country to be aware of the presence of an African-American on his staff. Employing direct news style, Booker wrote a feature piece that provided his readers with a sense of Morrow's non-confrontational management style. Booker interviewed Eisenhower after he left office and the Morrow article reflects his knowledge of the Eisenhower administration. (39) Booker's articles gave his readers a sense of the inner workings of official Washington.

Booker wrote many profile articles for Ebony. Perhaps the best of these was a profile of Burke Marshall. Again, Booker chose as his subject someone who worked effectively behind the scenes in Washington. "Quiet Fighter for Civil Rights," was the Washington story of a White lawyer chosen by Robert F. Kennedy as Assistant Attorney General of the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division. (40) Booker described Marshall as an anti-trust specialist who was regarded as "the man who 'dotted the i's' in legal opinions and carried the law books to Bob." (41) Again, Booker's past reporting experiences added significantly to the depth of the profile. Following this description of Marshall, Booker wrote: "When a bus was burned on Mother's Day in 1961 in Anniston, Alabama, the image changed." (42) Booker was in Anniston when this defining moment for Marshall occurred. (43)

When two groups, known as the Freedom Riders, embarked on two buses to test court bans on the segregation of rest rooms and facilities serving interstate passengers, one reporter was present. Booker and a photographer covered the ride from the passenger seat of a Trailways bus. Before Booker left Washington to make the trip South from Virginia to New Orleans, he informed the FBI of the planned trip and paid a visit to the office of Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The Attorney General's response to Booker's comment that there would "probably be trouble" on the rides was reassuring for Booker. "Okay, call me if there is," Kennedy responded. (44)

There was plenty of trouble. The Greyhound bus that preceded Booker's Trailways bus was attacked and set afire by a mob of two hundred men just outside of Anniston as it made its way toward Birmingham. When the Greyhound bus carrying Booker arrived in Anniston, an angry mob of Ku Klux Klansmen awaited. The passengers on Booker's bus were badly beaten. The bus escaped and continued to make its way to Birmingham. Birmingham police had agreed to let a mob of Klansmen have fifteen minutes with the Freedom Riders when the bus arrived. Within this fifteen minute grace period, the Klansmen completed the work the mob in Anniston began. Stunned and unable to receive help from a local hospital, the Freedom Riders and Booker made their way to the home of a local minister. There, Booker received a call from Attorney General Kennedy. Booker apprised Kennedy of the brutal events of the day. Later, Marshall was able to get the Freedom Riders safely out of Alabama. (45) Booker concluded the article in the style of a status report, providing quotes from Marshall on issues ranging from race relations in Mississippi to domestic propaganda.

Covering the national scene for Ebony meant covering the civil rights movement also, and clearly Booker provided his readers with a first hand account of civil rights activities and violations across the country. He said: "I covered the South: the Till case, lynchings, murders and the plight of African-Americans throughout the South. Ebony had a national circulation and we covered the national scene." (46)

Booker's reporting of civil rights activities revealed his talent for writing the riveting feature piece. Again, providing context and background for the reader to understand the importance of the event, he effectively described scenes and events. The two lead paragraphs of "50,000 March on Montgomery" are examples of Booker's feature writing talent.

> From the arc of the Edmund Pettus bridge, Alabama highway 80, a twin double stretch of asphalt, seemed a long pathway to hell. Ahead were swamps, the murky colored hangouts and water moccasins along the 50-mile route to the cradle of the Confederacy, a city named Montgomery. In the rear, Selma appeared as a collection of ramshackle buildings erected years ago by slaves when the town enjoyed more prosperity and wasn't dogged to frustration by determined freedom-seeking Negroes. Above the segregationists' loudspeakers in the distance blaring "Dixie" and "Bye, Bye, Blackbird," the rhythmic harmonizing of "We Shall Overcome" was interspersed with the sound of thousands of tramping feet. While helicopters zoomed overhead, burly state troopers muttered, "Dirty nigger," but stood erect. GIs, guns at their side, stood at attention fortified by jeep loads of radio men, trucks of soldiers, unmarked cars of FBI agents and Justice Department aides. There was a sun in the sky and today was Sunday -- a church-going day. The mood was spiritual but the gaiety of a holiday celebration rimmed the activity.
>
> At the head of the line of 10,000 marched a hero.
>
> Behind him marched a movement.
>
> The movement could shape history in Alabama. (47)

Following the lead paragraphs, Booker described the events of the Sunday two weeks before known as "Bloody Sunday." Readers relived "Bloody Sunday" and its events and were then transported to the hate and faith of another Sunday somewhere between Selma and Montgomery. Before concluding, Booker gave his readers an insightful look at the marchers. He posed several questions in the article: "Who were these nondescript marchers? Why would they undertake such a strenuous journey? What provided the momentum for a project which former President Harry Truman, during a press conference, dubbed 'silly'?" Quotations from the marchers provided the answers. (48)

These articles provided the African-American perspective, giving voice to their struggles for justice and freedom. At the same time the articles provided insight into American policy and its development.

THE NATIONAL AFFAIRS AGENDA

Preserving a national voice for African-Americans and remaining within the confines of the canons of journalism were difficult tasks for the Washington bureau chief. Booker managed to do both, and he was rarely appreciated for his efforts.

He soon learned that the Washington beat carried clout, previously afforded only to his White counterparts. As the civil rights of African-Americans began to appear more secure, Booker witnessed changes in his White House beat.

During the late 1950s and the Eisenhower second term, Booker attended news conferences during which Black reporters were routinely ignored. (49) Eisenhower's boycott of Black reporters may have been precipitated by an incident involving Ethel Payne, former White House reporter for the Chicago Defender. During a 1954 White House press conference, Payne annoyed Eisenhower by asking when he intended to ban segregation in interstate travel. Both Washington dailies reported that the president was annoyed by the question. (50) Eisenhower returned to his policy of isolating the African-American reporters.

But in 1961, President Kennedy implemented changes that made African-American reporters more at ease in the White House. He appointed former newsman and campaign aide Andrew Hatcher associate press secretary at the White House. The Kennedy White House was sure to include African-American reporters in press pools and briefings. (51)

Soon, Booker's one-on-one interviews included Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Attorney General Bobby Kennedy and other members of the Kennedy cabinet. At the same time, invitations arrived and Booker found he was the guest of Democrats and Republicans alike. (52) The national circulation of Ebony and Jet magazines were important to the national government officials on his beat.

There exists a symbiotic relationship between politician and reporter. The Washington politician needs national press exposure to reach voters across the country and reporters need politicians as subjects. (53) It is a relationship Booker learned to shun. He refused to become a pawn in the Washington power game. Booker began to decline social invitations and special editorial briefings, selecting only those occasions that were critical to his journalistic work. (54) Instead, he chose to remain outside of the Washington elite. He decided not to become a player in a game in which he was supposed to be a spectator. Speaking of his journalistic responsibility, he said: "I have to be able to go after these people when they are wrong." (55)

Booker recognized the value of the power of the press. He was a consummate observer of the power of the African-American voter. He realized long ago the power a national African-American voice.

CONCLUSION

Simeon Booker was a pioneer in American journalism. He struggled with racial discrimination in his field and won. He was the first African-American to report for the Washington Post. He fostered the role of the Black press as the vehicle for expression of the African-American experience. He anticipated a change in the structure of the Black press during the civil rights movement and developed a national voice for African-Americans through Johnson Publishing's Ebony magazine. Moreover, Booker recognized the power of an African-American magazine with a national circulation and expanded its influence into the national political arena. Illumination of his career and experiences are valuable to the history of journalism, the Black press and American government.

Booker is one example of many African-Americans who used their journalistic talents to give voice to the African-American perspective in America. The story of his life and career should be included in the chronicles of journalism history.

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1 Martin E. Dann, ed., The Black Press 1827-1890 (New York: Capricorn Books, 1971), p. 34.

2 Ibid, p. 33.

3 Booker is mentioned as the first African-American reporter hired by The Washington Post in at least biographies of the paper. See for example, Chalmers M. Roberts, The Washington Post: The First 100 Years (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 294; Chalmers M. Roberts, In the Shadow of Power: The Story of the Washington Post (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), p. 294 and 355; and Tom Kelly, The Imperial Post (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1983), p. 106.

4 Despite Booker's many achievements, he is mentioned in the two standard journalism history textbooks, Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 7th ed. (Englewood Clifts, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1992). Highlights of Booker's career appear in the standard history of the African-American press, Roland E. Wolseley, The Black Press, USA (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1971), p. 200.

5 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

6 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

7 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

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9 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

10 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

11 See Angela Terrell, "Simeon Booker: Of Survival and Facts of Life," The Washington Post, 28 March 1974, p. F3.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 See Chalmers M. Roberts, The Washington Post: The First 100 Years (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 294; Chalmers M. Roberts, In the Shadow of Power: The Story of the Washington Post (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), p. 294 and 355; and Tom Kelly, The Imperial Post (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1983), p. 106.

16 Terrell, op. cit., p. F3.

17 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

18 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

19 See for example Simeon Booker, Black Man's America (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 150.

20 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

21 Terrell, op. cit., p. F3.

22 See Simeon Booker, "CIO Aide Urges Educators To Join Attack on Probes," The Washington Post, 3 March 1953, p. 15.

23 See Simeon S. Booker, "Pastor Join in Fight on Crime Here," The Washington Post, 29 April 1953, p.

24 See Simeon S. Booker, "Transit Co. Opens Fight for Fare Hike," The Washington Post, 29 May 1953, p. 8.

25 See Simeon Booker, "Transit Bid for 10% Return 'Shocking' to ICC Examiner," The Washington Post, 2 June 1953, p. 1.

26 See Simeon S. Booker, "Ike Reaffirms Vow to End 'Second-Class Citizenship,'" The Washington Post, 20 May 1953, p. 2.

27 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

28 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

29 See Dann, op. cit., p. 33.

30 See Simeon Booker, Black Man's America (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 155.

31 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

32 See for example Simeon Booker, Black Man's America (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 22.

33 Ibid, p. 18.

34 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

35 See for example Simeon Booker, Black Man's America (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964).

36 See Simeon Booker, "What Negroes Can Expect from Kennedy," Ebony, January 1961, p. 33.

37 See Simeon Booker, "The Black Man in the White House," *Ebony*, April 1961, p. 77.

38 Ibid.

39 See Simeon Booker, *Black Man's America* (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 209-210.

40 See Simeon Booker, "Burke Marshall: Quiet Fighter for Civil Rights," *Ebony*, May 1964, p. 90.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 See Simeon Booker, *Black Man's America* (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), pp. 1-6.

44 See Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 413.

45 See Simeon Booker, "Burke Marshall: Quiet Fighter for Civil Rights," *Ebony*, May 1964, p. 90.

46 Author's interview with Booker, 13 February 1993.

47 See Simeon Booker, "50,000 March on Montgomery," *Ebony*, April 1962, p. 47.

48 Ibid.

49 See Simeon Booker, *Black Man's America* (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 208.

50 See Rodger Streitmatter, "Ethel L. Payne: African American Woman Journalist with No Taste for Fluff," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 68, Number 3 (Autumn 1991) p. 528.

51 See Simeon Booker, *Black Man's America* (Englewood Clifts, NJ, 1964), p. 18.

52 Ibid., pp. 198 and 208, for example.

53 For press and politicians see for example, Charles Press and Kenneth Verburg, *American Politicians and Journalists* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1988), pp. 1-26.

54 Author's interview with Booker, April 1993.

55 Author's interview with Booker, April 1993.

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Through Different Colored Glasses:
African-American Correspondents in World War II

A research paper submitted for possible presentation at the 1993 annual meeting of the American Journalism Historians Association in Salt Lake City, Utah.

by

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Abstract

More than 2,600 journalists left the comforts of home and traveled abroad to cover World War II. Of those correspondents, 27 were African-Americans dispatched from black publications. The role and performance of African-American correspondents during the war have been excluded from nearly all of the multi-page volumes on war coverage written by journalism historians. This paper explores the role of the African-American correspondent.

The paper is a descriptive analysis of the work of a black journalist, Enoch P. Waters. His work is compared with that of a white correspondent, George F. Horne, who was covering news in the same theater of World War II. The manner in which the correspondents gathered and reported news, and an overall theme of their work was examined. Horne's work was considered the standard against which Waters' work was measured.

Although, the white correspondent's work was considered to represent the standard of journalism excellence, this study found that, overall, the black correspondent did a more thorough job of gathering and reporting war news. When taken together, both reporters' work seemed to provide a more complete picture of the war. However, Waters' articles had a more humanistic point of view, consisting of more in-depth human interest articles. In contrast, the white correspondent filed stories that were more straight-news oriented. Horne's accounts were from the official press releases of military officials, whereas the black correspondent's work was compiled from first-hand interviews with soldiers in the trenches of the war. In addition to presenting the basic facts of the war, Waters' accounts were more informative.

Through Different Colored Glasses: Newspaper Coverage of the Second World War

Fifty years ago more than 2,600 Americans, most of them men, left the comforts of home and traveled into the war zone, not as soldiers or officers, or even as doctors or nurses.[1] These Americans had what they considered an even higher calling--to explain to anxious mothers, fathers and other family members what was happening on the battlefields, in the hospitals and in the day-to-lives of loved ones who were fighting abroad for democracy at home.

"It was a war reported by more men and women representing more media of information than any other, and one that had available more technical aids for coverage and communication," according to Robert Desmond, one of several scholars of World War II news coverage.[2]

However, what Desmond (and most other journalism historians) fails to mention in his 500-plus page volume on war news reporting is the role of the twenty-seven African-Americans accredited to cover the second world war.[3]

This research paper will explore an area that most other journalist historians have ignored. Not only was the role of the African-American correspondent reviewed, but through a descriptive analysis the work of a black journalist will be compared with that of a white correspondent in the same theater of the war. Of particular interest is the manner in which the African-American correspondent gathered and reported news from the front lines during the first war in which black American newspapers sent correspondents abroad to cover U.S. troops.[4]

On the dedication page of Desmond's work on war reporting, is the following: "To all media representatives who became casualties of military operations during the 1931-1945 period of news reporting."[5] It is a sad irony that of the thousands of reporters whose names are listed alongside the names of their respective publications, in Desmond's "complete" work, there is no mention of Albert Hinton, the first and only African-American correspondent killed in the war, supporting the purpose of this study.[6] With the exception of Enoch P. Waters' diary and a thorough monograph by John D. Stevens, there has been little research aimed at the contributions, struggles, death and lives of African-American correspondents in World War II. This study examined those accomplishments by focussing on the work of Waters, an African-American, and comparing it to that of George F. Horne, a white correspondent.

A Review of the Literature

As noted above, little has been written about African-American correspondents although there is much in the literature about white journalists covering World War II. One of the more substantive pieces of work is that by Stevens.[7] He chronicles the frustrations of African-American editors with war coverage during the second world war when they had to depend on the Office of War Information to send them stories and pictures of black GI's digging ditches and peeling potatoes.[8]

By World War II, black publishers decided they were financially able and journalistically prepared to send their own correspondents to cover the conflict. The twenty-seven African-American World War II correspondents represented four newspapers--the *Afro-American* (Baltimore), *The Chicago Defender*, the *Norfolk Journal & Guide*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*--and two black news services, the Associated Negro Press (ANP) and the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA).[9]

Edgar Rouzeau of the *Courier*, the first black correspondent accredited by the American government, was sent to cover Europe in 1942.[10] Another black, Homer Smith (pseudonym: Chatwood Hall), was accredited by the Russians in 1939 and, long before the attack on Pearl Harbor, many African-American newspapers carried his dispatches from the Eastern front.[11] Six correspondents were assigned to cover the Pacific Theater during World War II, but no more than three were there at the same time. Waters, a war correspondent for three years, said in his autobiography, "I was there longer than any of the others and spent more time in the combat zones."[12]

But African-American correspondents faced a "dual role of reporter and advocate."[13] This was because of the "Double V" campaign launched by the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a black weekly newspaper. This campaign was quickly spread across the country by the nation's other 209 African-American papers.[14] "Double V" represented: "Victory over fascism abroad. Victory over racism here at home."[15] Waters provided an additional explanation: " . . . we were fighting two wars--one against the Japanese, our military enemy and one against the racism that limited their (soldiers') roles and advancement in the army and in their lives at home as civilians."[16]

Black journalists, like Waters of the *Chicago Defender*, opted not to bow to pressure but to use the "'damn-the-torpedoes' route and fil[ed] dozens of exposes of racial injustice in the military."[17] Surprisingly, none of the African-American correspondents lost their accreditation because of their aggressive reporting, although the censor's hand weighed a little heavily on those reports--removing some of the details from the reporters' dispatches.[18] But overall, censorship was not based on the color of the person who wrote it, according to African-American correspondents Stevens interviewed.[19]

Realizing that they did not have the resources to compete with the mainstream daily publications, the black correspondents wrote a lot of feature stories, what Stevens called "Ernie Pyle stuff," in reference to the white war correspondent/columnist known for his touching, "friend of the soldier" approach to journalism.[20]

Stevens said that most of the stories filed by African-American correspondents were sent home by mail, and that "for an occasional blockbuster, the correspondents used the expensive cable facilities."[21]

In addition to seeking equal rights and an end to segregation on the home front, African-American leaders--such as A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP--called on President Roosevelt to end segregation in the military.[22] However, segregation of the armed forces made the job of covering the war easier for African-American correspondents.

> Ironically, the correspondents' job was made easier by the Army's strict segregation policies, policies which the papers decried week after week on the editorial pages. A correspondent could move into a new sector, get a list of black units and their locations, and head for them.[23]

Waters, a black journalist in the trenches at the time, agreed:

> The Army's racial policy that consigned most blacks to service units operated to the advantage of black correspondents. We probably got better food, rare extras like cold beer and even now and then a shot of whisky, more of the scare transportation, an abundance of clean or even new clothing, better quarters and a closer relationship with GI's than our white counterparts.[24]

An African-American correspondent's job was especially difficult because, again, of the constant pressure to present their readers with something they hadn't already read about or heard during a radio broadcast. Many correspondents' dispatches consisted of a lead, a follow-up paragraph, and a long list of soldiers' names and respective hometowns. Because most African-American soldiers were members of service troops (responsible for preparing meals, building roads and cleaning house), correspondents were hard pressed "to glamorize a job like building roads or unloading cargo ships, but the newsmen did their best. Certainly they can be excused an occasional superlative such as 'the best quartermaster laundry company in the entire theater.'"[25]

Black journalists also often broke the barriers of color, opting to tag along with all-white units to get a taste of combat--something most African-American GI's didn't experience at all, or at least not until very late in the war. Fletcher Martin, a NNPA correspondent, accompanied an all-white Australian unit assaulting New Guinea and wrote a story that ran in the *Chicago Defender*.[26] Waters did likewise.

> In order to get the "feel" of actual combat, some of us joined assault forces that had no Negro GI's. I, at least, followed the same procedure as when I was with Negro troops, getting the names and hometowns of as many men as possible . . . . I tried to answer the questions I thought were in the minds of people back home. I believed their primary concern was not how the war was progressing, but how their GI's were doing.[27]

Most African-American soldiers served their tour of duty in the Mediterranean Theater and black newspapers covered this front of the war well. But correspondents like Waters and Martin spent a great deal of time filing stories from the Pacific Theater where the first group of black GI's arrived in April 1942.[28]

One of the correspondents' main objectives was not to get in each other's way and duplicate another's coverage, according to Waters.[29] "However, because we had no way of communicating with each other, we sometimes found ourselves working in the same area, having arrived from different points. In such circumstances . . . we would check out the units in the area and divide them up between us."[30]

What kind of job did black correspondents do?

> Generally, an able one. They turned out prodigious amounts of copy, most of it solidly if not spectacularly written, and that made the war easier to bear, both for the black soldiers and their loved ones at home. Any war correspondent has a difficult assignment, but the black had extra problems. . . . They accepted the unenviable extra task of being ombudsmen for the GI's with their largely white officers. They stayed with the troops and did a minimum of 'headquarters hugging.'[31]

So far this review of the literature has drawn from the small body of work about African-American correspondents. The remainder of the literature review will be of the larger body of work on the white correspondents working for the mainstream press. But it is important to note here that the correspondents' experiences--and the accounts researchers have presented about those experiences--were not necessarily unique to either race.

According to Philip Knightley,

> American correspondents . . . fared better in the early part of the war in the Pacific. As the United Press reported later: "The swiftness of the Japanese conquest in Southwest Asia, the dire plight of the United States Navy, and the blanket of censorship and propaganda that covered military operations, made the first months of 1942 a nightmare of confusion for correspondents at the fronts and editors at home."[32]

World War II was reported "very heavily in romantic terms," according to Knightley, who added, "The enemy was depicted as brave and, . . . if not brave, then chivalrous."[33] There was some blood and guts reporting and a lot of overly optimistic stories filed by correspondents. This took the form of low numbers of American losses, inflation of enemy losses, and optimistic predictions as to when the war would end.

Again, Mary Mander characterizes correspondents differently. She said the correspondents were accurate and exact in their reporting "in the broader sense of keeping things in proportion and perspective."[34] Summarizing her view, Mander wrote, "They exercised dignity and restraint in reporting the tragedies and victories they witnessed. They exacted emotion from the scenes around them instead of infusing those scenes with passion, sentiment or sensation."[35]

From time to time, correspondents were punished by the censors for being "too frank in revealing circumstances" of the war as was the case with Cecil Brown of CBS and *Newsweek*.[36] In 1941, Brown was barred from covering news in Singapore. After brief stints in Batavia (now Djakarta) and Australia, he returned to the United States where he settled into radio news broadcasting and commentary.

Most correspondents followed a formula when writing stories about the war. Four methods were available to correspondents to communicate the news from the Pacific and Mediterranean and other war theaters to the United States. Following the most used method, correspondents prepared "communiques" based on official reports to Pacific fleet headquarters, reports which were released from Pearl Harbor. Other news accounts were written by reporters permanently stationed in Honolulu.

> The account was based on the official communique augmented by background matter received from correspondents and possibly from a briefing officer at the base. Both factual and interpretative, these stories were given prompt review by the censors and normally received quick transmission.[37]

Articles written from the battlefield were also reported and compiled by pool correspondents designated by the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), International News Service (INS), and Reuters. "Lots were drawn to see which of them (the correspondents) would write the day's story to be used by all four agencies and to have priority in transmission."[38] As mentioned earlier in this study, African-American newspapers had their own newspaper pools--APA and NNPA.

In his description of the pool correspondent method of handling stories, Desmond called it a way of "conserving and making the best use of time."[39] The pool correspondent would write an 800-word article, it was censored aboard the force commander's flagship and transmitted via the ship radio to Pearl Harbor. Then, it went to San Francisco where it would be reviewed again by Navy censors before release.[40]

Finally, news stories were written by individual correspondents for news agencies, newspapers, magazines or syndicates at the scene of action apart from pool arrangements.

> Their accounts might go by courier plane to Pearl Harbor for censorship and transmission--a process requiring anywhere from thirty-six hours to eight days--or the corespondent might

> send up to 300 words, daily, censored aboard the flagship and forwarded by courier plane when possible. That might mean a flight of hundreds of miles to any radio station in the advance, where it would be transmitted to the United States at three cents a word, but with a censor check at San Francisco. This also took time and the subject matter of this fourth story type obviously could not be spot news.[41]

Methodology

After a review of the historical literature and several major newspapers (*Chicago Tribune*, *Washington Post*, *Atlanta Daily World*) of the period, the work of two wartime newspaper correspondents was selected for comparison in this study--that of Enoch P. Waters Jr. of the *Chicago Defender*, and George F. Horne, the *New York Times*.

Waters was selected because he is considered one of the best correspondents of his day. Waters began his journalism career as a young boy, working part time for the Philadelphia *Tribune* and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, both African-American publications. "He did not get along well with the *Journal and Guide* publisher and moved on to the Chicago *Defender*, where he held many of the staff jobs during his quarter century with the paper."[42] Waters left the *Defender* in 1957 to work as an editor for the ANP.

Waters has already been frequently quoted earlier. His American Diary: A Personal History of the Black Press, not only chronicles his life as an African-American correspondent, but is one of few historical accounts written from a black journalist's perspective. Waters' diary of his experiences as a correspondent provided additional primary information for this study.

Horne was primarily selected because he and Waters covered the war from the same front at the same time. Easy access to the newspaper for which Horne worked, the *New York Times*, also made him a most suitable candidate for this study. Other than having his name noted twice in Desmond's Tides of War, there is nothing in the literature about Horne.

Newspaper articles written by Horne and Waters were randomly selected based on historical accounts of the war that indicated the theaters and time periods during which the fighting was at its peak. The Pacific Theater was the site of much action during World War II as U.S. troops invaded Japanese islands to strategically position themselves for victory. Much of this action took place in the early months of 1944.

A problem in choosing *The Times* and the *Defender* is that the former is a daily publication, and the latter a weekly. Initially, the *Atlanta Daily World*, an African-American daily newspaper, was chosen for this study. However, that paper did not send a correspondent to cover World War II, and most of the wire service articles that it ran were not by-lined. Therefore, a paper which did send a correspondent, the *Defender*, was selected for study.

A week's worth of newspaper coverage from Horne's pen--February 2-6, 1944--was selected from the *New York Times* for study. However, because of the aforementioned problem with studying a daily publication alongside a weekly, a month of coverage--January 29-February 26, 1944--from the *Defender* was selected.

The newspaper articles were examined using a descriptive analysis procedure to compare and contrast the articles based on some of the fundamentals of newswriting style. Because the purpose of the study was to determine the role of the African-American correspondent, an examination of what a white correspondent was doing in the same war, at the same time and place as a black journalist was an excellent vehicle for comparison. Because whites had covered previous wars, and they had more journalism experience, Horne's work was used as a yardstick to measure Waters'.

Horne's and Waters' articles were studied in terms of what type of approach they took to cover the news. Was the account a straight spot news story, or was it a more in-depth feature? The use of descriptive phrases, first or third person, quotations, and patriotism content was studied. What, if any, clues were there as to how the reporter gathered his story? Did he use personal interviews with soldiers or military officials, or was the story based on a press release? Also examined was the length and prominence of the news article in the respective publications. Finally, the presentation of the piece and its overall theme was examined.

The Analysis

January 29, 1944:

"I am now living in the shadow of the war for control of this strategic island in the Southwest Pacific," reads Waters' lead from "Somewhere in New Britain."[43] This story appears on the front page of the *Defender* alongside an article written by Fletcher P. Martin, another African-American correspondent working for one of the black news services.

Typical of the Ernie Pyle style of writing, this article is written in first person. It is chock full of images of war: " . . . I can hear the rumbling sound of battle and, if I choose to walk a few miles, see the opposing forces in combat."[44] Waters uses other images to paint a picture of the war, incorporating phrases such as "scenes of battle," "fighting men," "Americans are in possession," "bomb-gouged and plane littered air strip," ". . . this morning we were awakened by the sound of artillery fire . . . ," "combat malevolent forces of nature . . .," "truckloads of warriors," and "the struggle to survive."[45]

"The glamour of Hollywood war is nowhere evident here in this tangle of mud, men, wreckage, arms and supplies," Waters writes, trying to put what he saw in perspective for his readers back home.[46]

His is a forthright piece of prose, holding nothing back--the terrors of war, the casualties, the diseases, which together comprise a "two-sided war," writes Waters. "A less colorful phase of the battle here is the fight against disease infection and the wounds inflicted upon our men by the enemy for our advances. Our successes are not made without sacrifice of life and limb."[47]

Waters' account is detailed in that it puts his coverage of New Britain into context with the entire war effort.

> In an abandoned enemy camp from which the Japs were driven only 15 days ago, I can hear the rumbling sounds of battle and, if I choose to walk a few miles, see the opposing forces in conflict.
>
> I arrived here January 13 with another correspondent and two Negro units, the first Negroes to my knowledge to be landed here.[48]

He goes as far as to describe the type of unit he is working with--a quartermaster truck outfit loaned to the Marines to help them transport supplies through the mounds of mud.

Using few direct quotations, Waters is his own main source of information. It is not until the jump of the 1,200-word plus article that he mentions having spoken with three African-American Coast Guardsmen who describe to him the December 26, 1943, Marine landing on New Britain. But even in these last 90 words, only three brief sentences are complete quotations.

Instead of lengthy quotes, Waters uses a narrative style similar to that one might find in a novel to unfold the drama of landing.

> The action began, they said, when the convoy came in sight of land and the cruisers loosed a terrific assault on the beach while our bombers blasted the enemy from its position along the shore and the hills behind for more than two hours.
>
> They said they were deafened by the detonations of exploding shells and bombs and blinded by shell bursts in the early morning sky.[49]

Note the use of "our bombers." Phrases such as this are frequently used not only in Waters' pieces, but in Horne's, and much of the journalistic writing about the war. This probably reiterated that spirit of patriotism that made the fighting of the war on foreign shores personal to those thousands of miles away.

February 2, 1944:

Contrasting Waters' work against that of Horne's, it is easy to see which is the interpretive piece and which is the straight news report. Horne's "U.S. Forces Wins Beaches on Marshalls' Atoll; Battles Rage on First Japanese Soil Invaded," was sent to the *Times* via telephone. Written February 1, 1944, the article appeared in the paper the next day. Horne writes his story from an official military "communique", press release, issued by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet and of Pacific Ocean Areas.

The theme of this article is victory. Horne heralds the accomplishments of Americans who engaged in "bitter fighting" with their "tremendous . . . amphibious forces."[50] America's "well-trained forces" won a "decisive battle" as they "stormed ashore . . . in daylight" "armed with the best weapons ingenuity can provide . . ." and "blanket(ed) the enemy."[51]

Only "moderate" American casualties are said to have been experienced because of the soldiers went to battle "Protected by fire power overshadowing anything we had concentrated against the fierce warriors who dreamt of dictating peace terms in the White House . . . ."

It is obvious, by the terms used to describe the enemy, that Horne--as did other correspondents and the military at this time in the war--had an intense respect for the enemy. This contrasts with news coverage two years earlier, in 1942, in which racial slurs were used to refer to the Japanese.

> Time . . . instructed its readers about 'How to Tell Your Friends from the Japs.' The Japanese were hairier than the Chinese; 'the Chinese expression is likely to be more placid, kindly, open; the Japanese more positive, dogmatic, arrogant. . . . The Japanese are hesitant, nervous in conversation, laugh loudly at the wrong time. Japanese walk stiffly erect . . . Chinese more relaxed . . . sometimes shuffle.[52]

Instead, Horne calls the Japanese "fierce warriors" who are brave and put up "strong opposition" against U.S. troops.

February 3, 1944:

"The marines have captured Roi Island, primary objective in the northern portion of Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands and the first pre-war Japanese territory to fall to United States forces."[53]

This story is the personification of American pride. Compiled, again, from a press release issued by Admiral Nimitz, Horne writes of how U.S.'s forces "unprecedented striking power" overwhelmed the Japanese, taking them by surprise. [54] The result was a major win in the Pacific, having "captured one of the three principal objectives in the atoll."[55]

Enemy forces were neutralized, pushed back, and some of them captured as P.O.W.'s. Horne does not have a head count on the number of enemy prisoners, but notes that more were captured at this atoll than in the Gilbert Islands landing.

If anything, American forces nearly foiled their own victory, Horne explains, in that " . . . the most formidable immediate obstacle to our troops seemed to be the huge fires started earlier by our heavy bombardment, both by surface and aircraft."[56]

Military units--the marines, Seventh Infantry Division, Seventh Army Air Force, Fleet Air Wing 2--are named and praised for forcing the enemy back into its foxholes. "Our marines and infantrymen have demonstrated to the enemy that we also can strike with terrific force when and where he least expects it."[57]

The word "also" in the above sentence is particularly revealing because it cues readers to the fact that the Japanese have hit Americans hard. The Japanese forces are strong, but this time, American forces were stronger, quicker on the draw and had the element of surprise working on their side. This is the message Horne's article sends home.

Horne had to do a lot of backgrounding to put his story together. Apparently, when the Admiral issued a press release, he wasn't available for or amenable to subsequent questions about the new information. Thus, in addition to attributing two sentences to Nimitz, Horne found a "spokesman at fleet headquarters" to disclose "supplementary details" on the landing.[58] Included among these details are the types of ammunition used against the Seventh Division--rifle, machine-gun, and mortar fire. This unnamed source also told Horne about the problems U.S. forces had when faced with the fires that they had created while trying to flush out the enemy.

Still, there are obviously some things that Horne is uncertain about, as he uses the word "probably" to note when the first landings on Kwajalein Island took place. Horne also presumes a lot about how the enemy was thinking and feeling at the time of the landing. " . . . the enemy realized it was an all-out invasion."[59]

Horne makes it plain that he is on an investigative mission--attempting to put the pieces of information together to form a complete story. He mentions "clues" and "indications" that lead him to interpret facts in a particular manner. Such as, "A significant sentence in Admiral Nimitz's communique may contain one clue to the remarkable operation . . . ," and "The ability to carry on such heavy action may be a clue to the size of the carrier force used."

Finally, Horne explains what the landing means--operationalizing it in terms of the total war effort and military strategy in particular.

> With possession of the excellent, though small, airfield on Roi Island so early we will be able to consolidate our position in the Marshall Islands more quickly than was anticipated. When we get the air strip on Kwajalein we will be further strengthened for the counter-attacks the enemy is almost certain to launch.[60]

February 4, 1944:

The next day, Horne continues his saga of developments in the battle at Kwajalein Island. It has taken a lot of "hard fighting against stubborn enemy forces," but American forces have "captured" the northern portion of the island.[61]

For the first time in Horne's, or Waters', coverage he reports the exact number of American lives lost in the war. "Our casualties have been incredibly low in the Roi-Namur and Kwajalein Island areas, main battle zones, American dead in both totaling only 127.

In the Roi-Namur fighting the cost to us is estimated at fewer than 100 killed and 400 wounded."[62]

This story, like the others, is communicated to Horne via a press release. Here, Admiral Nimitz predicts the "collapse of resistance" as American troops annihilate the enemy.[63] There are a couple of long paragraphs containing parenthetical information--about 95 words--which is a bit uncharacteristic for a news story but is a method Horne frequently uses. The manner in which the Seventh Army Air Force launched its attack on the north and south extremities, when they did it, the eight tons of bombs dropped by "the liberators (the soldiers)" is described in the first paragraph set off by parentheses. The second reads, "The navy described anti-aircraft as moderate in both attacks and added that no enemy fighters were encountered. All planes returned safely."[64]

Surprisingly, the Japanese death toll, 1,250 out of a garrison of 2,000 men, is buried in the jump, from page one to page two. However, Horne tabulated the ratio of American dead to Japanese casualties to signify American victory. "Against this (number of Japanese dead) the American casualties there (on Kwajalein) up to last night were twenty-seven known dead, nine missing and 190 wounded. This gave a ratio of forty-six Japanese killed to one American."[65]

Horne reports that military experts are amazed at the swift and economical method of the Americans' attack. It is as if the experts were saying that the Japanese were supposed to win--of course this reporting strategy makes the victory at Kwajalein even sweeter. " . . . the assumption here is that the figures point eloquently to the preparatory operations conducted by Army and Navy planes and by our warships that virtually obliterated enemy strong points."[66]

As he does in the previously mentioned stories, Horne explains the importance of the victory to readers. "Kwajalein," they are told, "is the most important stronghold in the Marshall Islands, both as a military and naval bases, and to Western minds the time for playing the ace was at the beginning of the challenge. The Japanese do not have a Western mind, however."[67]

As he wraps up his story, Horne notes that he was given additional details regarding the combat at Kwajalein after the communique was issued. The enemy's unsuccessful, yet "feverish" attempt to build a new airfield on the ground, was met with an onslaught of American fire power from the air until "we had repulsed enemy counter-attacks with heavy losses to them."[68]

Noting that military officials refuse to divulge future tactical plans, Horne predicts: "It is likely that we will take all of the islands in the atoll. The latest authoritative source states that there are eighty islands and islets in the atoll."[69]

February 5, 1944:

While Horne was following military officials around in search of news, Waters was reporting from the trenches with U.S. forces in New Britain.

One of Waters' news stories that enjoyed at least two reprintings--in his own American Diary and in Stevens' Journalism Monogram article--was "Saga of Hill 660 Written in Blood of Dead Japs."[70] Published in the *Chicago Defender* February 5, 1944, Waters wrote this piece while he was with U.S. soldiers at Cape Gloucester, New Britain.

True to form, "Saga" is a story written directly to Waters' readers. Not only is it in first-person but it is very much personalized.

> Not so long ago, you probably picked up your morning paper, and, over your bacon and eggs, scanned a headline reporting the capture of Hill 660 by the United States Marines in New Britain. I doubt that you lingered over the story. I imagine you turned to something you regarded more interesting--the progress of the Russian campaign . . . .[71]

His is a one-on-one dialogue with his readers in which he comments upon his role as a correspondent. "Subconsciously as you turned the pages, you may have thought to yourself that news must be pretty scarce over there when highly paid correspondents devote so much space to the taking of a hill."[72] Waters goes on to explain the significance of taking Hill 660, the process by which it was won, and the aftermath as he and fellow correspondent, Vincent Tubbs of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, survey the damage.

Following a meal of C rations, marines got on their hands and knees to make their way up the mud covered hill, Waters writes. Along the way, marines, on hands and knees, scale a mud covered hill in pursuit of the enemy. They encounter a headless "Jap," and also the mangled, stinking bodies of Americans.[73]

A reporter with an eye for detail, Waters incorporates a sign he noticed into his story to convince readers of the far-reaching implications of the victory at Hill 660. "Outside the orderly room of a Negro port battalion in New Guinea, I saw a sign sometime ago. It read: 'The impossible we'll do today, miracles can wait until tomorrow.' Last night was 'tomorrow' on that hill."[74]

Waters' account notes the mundane but vital duties that African-American soldiers were assigned. The seemingly simple task of delivering food, Waters demonstrates in a piece of comparative prose, is made nearly impossible during a war in a flooded jungle.

> Metal containers of hot food and coffee slid about on the slimy floor and rainsoaked marines held on to its sides to keep their footing.
>
> "Going all the way up,[sic]" we inquired.
>
> "Impossible for a truck," a fellow sitting next to the driver said. "We gotta transfer this chow to a tank. It's the only thing that'll make the climb."[75]

In this article, Waters incorporates more quotations. In fact, as in the preceding example, he simply recreates the interviews he had with soldiers. About half of the 2,000-word, plus, article is quotations.

The danger of war is also documented in Water' piece: "A marine had told us that about 20 Jap snipers had broken through the lines last night and were believed to be loose in the area. 'Keep an eye peeled for them,' he had warned us."[76]

Waters writes as if he is just another one of boys fighting for his country. The soldiers reciprocated this treatment. "We greeted them and they returned friendly smiles. 'What outfit you from,' they inquired. We're war correspondents."[77]

He graphically and matter-of-factly describes the charred remains of Japanese and American soldiers.

> "Seen any Japs," Jackson asked eagerly.
> I'd seen one, a live one.
> "Wanta see some dead ones?"
> "Sure."
> He led to a spot 10 yards away. In a hollow, no deeper than a tire rut lay[sic] three of them. One was completely nude. Rifles, gas masks, helmets, a pile of junk which had once been a machine gun and hundreds of cartridges littered the area.[78]

Personalizing his story even more, and perhaps winning tears of empathy from readers, Waters adds a dialogue he had with soldiers about "home."

> No matter how a conversation over here begins, it always gets around to the states. they wanted news of home. I told them I had left in May. That made no difference, they'd been away longer than that.
>
> Eventually we got to talking about more intimate things, mother, wife, sweetheart, children, post war plans. Here we were eating out of the same can on a hillside in New Britain where so recently there'd been fighting that the acrid odor of gunpower[sic] was still in the air. Our paths would never have crossed in the states.[79]

And, of course, nothing had the potential to rip through the hearts of readers as articles mentioning dead Americans. "Here we were met by death again, this time one of our own. . . . '(He) Volunteered to lead a machine gun raid. A sixty got him right here.' The speaker pointed to his own stomach."[80]

Waters writes this article in a circular fashion, in that he begins with the task of climbing up the hill, and ends his story with the journey he and the soldiers made down the hill. He also challenges his readers to internalize what they've just learned about the taking of a hill. "'What's a hill in a global war?' you ask. Ask the guys who took it."[81]

February 2, 1944 -- Page Two:

In a more straight news story, Waters reports that the first contingent of World War II veterans from the Pacific Theater would be returning home in March for rest and rehabilitation.[82] He explains that the returning soldiers would be used to train reinforcements for duty overseas. This strictly informational bit of news explains the process by which a fresh crop of troops are sent overseas.

> Release of these seasoned Pacific fighters will follow a plan of gradual transfer and replacement which is designed not to detract from the effectiveness of combat units in this zone.
>
> Eligible for return to the United States are all troops having at least 18 months service in this theatre. However, preference will be given those units which served at least six months in New Guinea or in the extreme northern territory of Australia.[83]

"The Iron Men," the first American ground forces in New Guinea with 20 months of service, were the first "on the list" of those slated to go home.[84] Waters conveys to readers the excitement among soldiers about the prospect of going home.

> In some cases men who hope to be returned to the United States under this rest and rehabilitation order are already making preparation by disposing of their jungle luxuries and beginning to collect souvenirs for families and friends. Furloughs, a thing which these fighters in Australia rarely refuse, are being cheerfully passed up by many who fear their chances of returning home will come during their absence.[85]

February 5, 1944:

Elsewhere in the Pacific, Horne was busily updating pursuing military officials for information about American progress in the Pacific.

In this update on American progress in the Marshall Islands, Horne follows his usual information-gathering procedure. He picks up a press release from Admiral Nimitz's office and supplies a little background information.[86] It is obvious from the length of the article that there is not much fresh news in the Pacific. Horne's article is about 300 words long, the shortest of those studied thus far.

The tone of the article itself, that the action is dying down and victory is nigh, is further evidence that American forces are gaining control of Kwajalein Atoll. Casualties are still "moderate," and forces have landed and are occupying half of the island of Ebeye, north of Kwajalein, Horne reports.

In parenthetical news, Horne reports Admiral Nimitz' "proclamation establishing a military government with himself at its head for the occupied section of the Marshalls and suspending the powers of the Japanese Emperor in the islands."[87]

The article ends with yet another geography lesson for readers. this time the lesson includes the dimensions and location of Ebeye and its strategic importance in the war effort. "Ebeye is one of the important islets in the atoll. It is well equipped as a seaplane base with ramps, hangars, shops, a pier and radio station."[88]

February 6, 1944:

> PEARL HARBOR, Feb. 5--Seventh Division Army troops have captured Kwajalein Island and two other important isles of the Kwajalein Atoll, Pacific Feet headquarters announced today, and the most successful naval and military operation in the central Pacific campaign is nearing its final phase.[89]

The outstanding fighting of the Seventh Infantry and company is praised in this second brief from the Pacific penned by Horne. His reports are definitely routine, consistent and a little boring at this point. The usual "speed with which the invasion was accomplished," again, surprises "everyone."[90] Recounting the number of enemy dead--the same as it was two days ago--Horne describes how Japanese forces "collapsed under the unrelenting pressure" of United States troops.

There is some specific, sort of new, information reported in the jump on page twenty--also evidence of the decreasing significance of Horne's reports from the Pacific--such as the attacks on Wake Island, Eniwetok, Mili and Jaluit.[91]

February 19, 1944:

Camaraderie among the races is the theme running through Waters' "New Britain Marines Greet Negro Troops."[92] This is a touching piece that is right in line with the Double V campaign preached by African-American newspapers across the country. It is a story of what happens when people look beyond race and treat each other like equals--the premise of the African-American community's victory at home and abroad campaign.

"'I guess I didn't used to like them because they wouldn't let Negroes in Marine Corps,'" Waters writes, quoting a black American soldier. "'But after all it wasn't the fault of their guys. I didn't realize that before.'"[93]

Putting their racial differences behind them, black and white American soldier share food rations, cots, clothes and advice, according to Waters' account. "The marines had given the soldiers, unaccustomed to living in a jungle during the rainy season, a lot of good tips on little matters of keeping cigarettes dry, where safe bathing and drinking water could be found, precautions against scrub typhus."[94]

Half of the article consists of quotations from marines and African-American soldiers explaining how much they like and respect their counterparts. A little syrupy, but definitely an issue that hits home with readers.

February 26, 1944:

A surprise Japanese air raid left two soldiers dead, fifteen wounded, in the largest concentration of African-American losses in the war to date, Waters reports.[95] "The victims were members of a company of a well-known Negro port battalion which has been stationed in this theatre for two years."[96]

Waters unfolds his story through the eyes of the man who was a platoon leader of those who died and were wounded--T-Sgt. Victor

Ford of St. Louis, a platoon leader. "One [bomb] fell directly among them. They were unable to run for cover and were left exposed to flying fragments from the exploding bomb," Waters writes, paraphrasing Ford.[97]

The correspondent poignantly notes that he only left the bomb site in New Guinea four days before the attack. A blow-by-blow account describes what the victims were doing when they were struck with flying fragments from the exploding bomb. Quoting Ford, Waters writes, "He has seen many injured men, he told me, but never so many in a small area."[98]

Toward the end of the article, Waters conveys to readers the frustrations of soldiers who have lost buddies in the fighting. "All day they [the soldiers] were cussing the Japs and getting madder every time they thought of what happened."[99] Again, quoting the soldiers' platoon leader, Waters writes:

> The worst thing about an air raid, said Ford, is the feeling of helplessness.
>
> "You can't fight back. Some of the guys who had their rifles handy fired at the planes. They knew they couldn't hit them but it made them feel better," Ford said.[100]

Discussion

Readers who simultaneously consulted Horne's articles in The New York Times for recent developments in the Pacific, and Waters' in The Chicago Defender would have received the most complete picture of the war effort. Unfortunately, probably only a few readers had the necessary access and motivation to read both papers.

Together, the correspondents paint a thorough, informative and featuristic montage of war coverage, but taken separately there is something missing from both Waters' and Horne's work. Waters' work, while provocative and engaging, is short on the day-to-day developments. But because of the limitations, financial and otherwise, on African-American correspondents and their publications, it was impossible for Waters to do spot news stories.

Horne's informative and straight-from-the-front articles are timely reports providing the most recent combat details from the day before. But because he based his stories on press releases he received from military headquarters at Pearl Harbor, they were limited in scope, mainly representative of the official military point of view. Of course, Horne's daily pressures to meet deadlines and tell the story of the Pacific battle prohibited him from doing the in-depth type of human interest articles dispatched by Waters.

Horne's work is clearly about the majority war effort. African-American troops are not even alluded to in his coverage. In contrast, Waters, though writing for a black community publication, frequently interviewed and wrote stories about white soldiers.

The writing styles of the men differ. Both correspondents are wrapped up in the patriotic, first-person plural--"our troops," "our ships," "our victory." But that is as far as Horne goes. The rest of his reports are in the basic objective and inverted pyramid form of journalism.

Waters, on the other hand, incorporates a narrative, often soap opera-ish style in his writing--full of dramatic twists and tear-jerking turns of phrases which pull the reader in. His is a narrative style, an unfolding drama so much that some of his articles--those with a lot of dialogue--might easily be scripted for the stage or motion picture screen.

Implications

Perhaps the most important finding in this analysis is that separately, neither the African-American nor Caucasian correspondent could adequately cover the entire war effort. This may be because of the segregation policy in effect at the time. Both blacks and whites still had firmly held stereotypes of each other, and there were many physical and philosophical boundaries separating the races. However, some of the same limitations on the black press exist today in some form or another. As a whole, today's mainstream newspapers devote more coverage to the African-American community, and the work of black reporters, editors and columnists is prominently featured in these publications. But blacks are still under-represented in journalism. How much better equipped are African-American correspondents today when compared with fifty years ago? And how willing are white reporters to cover "black" issues?

The preceding questions still need to be answered. Indeed, they must be answered so that the press, black and white, can better serve its constituents. At issue is not just what Horne and Waters wrote, but how well they informed readers back home. This study reveals that the differences between the correspondents go well beyond race. These men had different motivations, different themes, and different writing styles. They also had different audiences.

In his diary, Waters said he often traveled with white troops and reported what they were doing in the war. His purpose, he said, was to better understand the combat aspect of war. It appears that Waters was primarily concerned with getting as accurate a picture of the war as possible to report to his readers. Having more relaxed deadlines because he worked for a weekly publication, gave Waters more time to pursue the kinds of in-depth stories he wrote. But he also had to be motivated to scale muddy hills with soldiers in search of a human interest piece.

Horne was faced with daily deadline pressure and this probably limited him from doing more than spot news. However, it appears that Horne spent a great deal of time at Pearl Harbor military headquarters. He did not appear to be motivated to follow soldiers into the trenches of war. Or, perhaps the very nature of his assignment prevented Horne from doing the more in-depth news articles. In either case, John Morton Blum summed up this approach to news gathering: "No leap of a reader's imagination . . . could easily find believable heroes in the Army's official communiques. Though they sometimes mentioned names, those accounts supplied only summaries of action that generally obliterated both the brutality and the agony of warfare."[101]

It is not the variations in skin color that differentiate Waters' and Horne's accounts of the war, but this study appears to support the notion that underdogs try harder to win. Waters apparently tried harder to track down stories, maybe because he didn't have the same access to military public relations officials as did Horne.

Horne's accounts of the war are initially informative and descriptive. But as the action in the Pacific cools, his stories are uninteresting and void of material and information that engages the reader. If he had the time and inclination to do so, Horne could have taken this opportunity to pursue more humanized in-depth subject matter within his basic assignment.

Waters' accounts could have been more inclusive of basic information about the war. However, because other daily publications would have already reported the information several times over, it would not have made much sense for him to do so.

The purpose of this study was to identify the role of the African-American correspondent by comparing his work with that of a white correspondent. An analysis of the descriptive data indicates that the black correspondent, Waters, was a major provider of humanized information about the course of the war. It would be interesting, in a future study, to randomly select people to read the articles studied in this paper and poll them as to which newspaper--the *Times* and the *Defender*--made them feel better informed about the war.

It is the conclusion of this study that Waters appears to have done a more thorough job of gathering and reporting news from the Pacific Theater during World War II for his audience. His was an important contribution to the war effort. Unfortunately, it was one that went unnoticed and unappreciated by most journalist historians.

Endnotes

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7.John D. Stevens, "From the Back of the Foxhole: Black Correspondents in World War II," Journalism Monographs 27 (1973).

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ALL THAT JAZZ: CARTER G. WOODSON'S BLUE NOTE:

African-American Press Focus on Jazz in the early '30s

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ABSTRACT

ALL THAT JAZZ: CARTER G. WOODSON'S BLUE NOTE:

African-American Press Focus on Jazz in the early '30s

In the fall of 1933, the African-American historian Carter G. Woodson, founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, published his most bizarre pronunciamento. In his role as a shaper of culture and history, he concluded that jazz had so corrupted African-Americans that it ought to be outlawed and all jazzmen ought to be rounded up and executed.

Drastic action was necessary by 1933 largely because jazz had been glamorized by the media, Woodson believed. He blamed the African-American press, the same press that gave him a forum for his syndicated column and which disseminated his schemes for popularizing African-American history.

These weekly urban newspapers had distorted reality, he believed, by continually featuring the lifestyles of African-American jazz musicians. This was especially true in accounts of the exploits of those who had gone to play in Europe. After more than a decade of media hype, Woodson lamented, "few Negroes share my attitude toward jazz."

To what extent did the press distort the economic, social, political and aesthetic ramifications of jazz? If the press did glamorize jazz, thereby encouraging expatriation to Europe, was it guilty of social irresponsibility? Had the press stimulated African-Americans to join the "lost generation" abroad?

This study considers selected issues of four African-American newspapers -- the Baltimore Afro-American, the Chicago Defender, the Amsterdam News, and the Norfolk Journal and Guide between the years 1926 and 1934.

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ALL THAT JAZZ: CARTER G. WOODSON'S BLUE NOTE:

African-American Press Focus on Jazz in the early '30s

In the fall of 1933, the African-American historian Dr. Carter G. Woodson published his most bizarre pronunciamento. In his role as a shaper of culture and history, he concluded that jazz had so corrupted African-Americans that it ought to be silenced. First, he would outlaw it; playing jazz should be made a crime. Second, and even more remarkable was his prayer that all jazz players and promoters of all races be rounded up and put to death.

Was he serious? Evidently, in the sense that he felt the moral justification for fire-and-brimstone measures. "Persons who are concerned with social progress, then must take steps to restrict jazz and stamp it out as an evil," Woodson declared in his syndicated column written in Paris while he was investigating how African-American jazzmen were faring. In neighboring Germany, Adolf Hitler had already banned jazz as a socially corrupting influence. Astonishingly, Woodson acknowledged that his own solution to silence jazz was inspired by Hitler.[1]

"Hitler, then, in spite of his otherwise questionable acts achieved well when he drove the jazz element from Germany," Woodson wrote. "There was nothing racial in this effort. Self-respecting Negroes are welcome in Germany. Hitler set a noble example in trying to preserve the good in civilization." Further, Woodson prayed that Hitler have wider authority to expunge jazz. "Would to God that he had the power not to drive them for [sic--from] one country into another but to round up all jazz promoters and performers of both races in Europe and America and execute them as criminals."2

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[1] Carter C. Woodson, "Has Jazz Been a Help or a Hindrance to Racial Progress?" Baltimore Afro-American, Oct. 14, 1933, p. 18.

Drastic action was necessary by 1933 largely because jazz had been glamorized by the media, Woodson believed. He blamed the African-American press, the same press that gave him a forum for his syndicated column and which disseminated his schemes for popularizing African-American history.

These weekly urban newspapers had distorted reality, he believed, by continually featuring the lifestyles of African-American jazz musicians. This was especially true in accounts of the exploits of those who had gone to play in Europe. After more than a decade of media hype, Woodson lamented, "few Negroes share my attitude toward jazz." He had been

> surprised to find our leading Negro newspapers and magazines playing up as great successes the men who carried jazz from 'You Street,' 'Harlem,' and 'State Street,' to the European dens of vice," Woodson wrote.

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[2] Ibid. Hitler regarded jazz as "an expression of neurasthenia, debilitating to youth exposed freely to its down grade influence," in the words of one reporter. Instead, the Nazis emphasized classical music -- Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, and opera. "Hitler Frowns on Jazz," The Literary Digest, March 24, 1934, p. 24.

> "Accounts of their thus giving a new thrill to European degenerates appeared from week to week as one would feature our ambassadorial representatives abroad. Highly educated Negroes going to Europe returned with glowing reports of the successful performance of such friends whom they visited there."[3]

To what extent did the press distort the economic, social, political and aesthetic ramifications of jazz? If the press did glamorize jazz, thereby encouraging expatriation to Europe, was it guilty of social irresponsibility? Had the press stimulated African-Americans to join the "lost generation" abroad?[4]

* * *

Woodson's ultimate concern was the progress of African-Americans in U.S. society. Jazz, like a pied piper, had led away a generation, including its youth. It was as though the race had forgotten the prophecy of Booker T. Washington, who died in 1915 on eve of the craze. Washington's principal legacy was the concept that African-Americans could define their place in U.S. society through education and hard work.

"Booker T. Washington understood this and, therefore, spent most of his time doing something constructive to make the Negro so efficient and desirable that no such force can be made effective against the Race," Woodson wrote in 1934.[5]

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[3] Woodson, "Hindrance," Oct. 14, 1933.

[4] This study considers selected issues of four African-American newspapers -- the Baltimore Afro-American, the Chicago Defender, the Amsterdam News, and the Norfolk Journal and Guide between the years 1926 and 1934.

He evidently hoped that his reputation would exert some influence in shaping history. He certainly was no fringe radical. Indeed, by 1933 he was clearly an opinion leader and frequently played the role as a spokesman for African-Americans. For a generation he had been a voice of reason, someone to be reckoned with.

After 1915, when Booker T. Washington died, Woodson styled himself to some extent as a successor. By force of personality and innovation, he shaped a career as the dominant figure in the development of African-American history. In 1916, he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and established the Journal of Negro History. Soon after, he initiated Black History Week observances in schools and communities. With an eye to the next generation, he supervised the writing of history textbooks which recognized accomplishments by African-Americans. His own books included *The Negro in Our History*, *The Mis-education of the Negro* and *The Negro Professional Man*. By the '30s Woodson was writing his column syndicated in the popular African-American weeklies. So from this pulpit and with such authority, he decreed that African-Americans should make wake up to their senses. As though he were a cultural czar, he decreed the antidote: classical music -- refined, serious, respectable, classless.

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[5] Carter G. Woodson, "Between Him and the Fire; Says Debt Enslaves More So Than Lynching," *Chicago Defender*, Jan. 6, 1934, p. 11.

By 1933, however, it was plain that jazz would not wither away. Indeed, it had secured a beachhead audience, displacing classical music to some extent among a new generation of students. Rather than dying, jazz was evolving, making a transition from impromptu improvisation to written arrangements.

Jazz had swept through the culture and left a legacy of names repeated so often they became living legends. These included Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, Sidney Bechet, Claude Hopkins, Ethel Waters, and Cab Calloway.

Their successes were featured in every issue almost of the African-American press. Stories reported their engagements and contracts, as when Ellington was scoring "box office triumphs" and "has become an exclusive Victor recording artist."[6] Miss Waters's career had taken her from a dishwasher to Harlem's famous Cotton Club to radio to Broadway; by 1934 she was reported to be earning $7,000 a week.[7]

By late 1933 the most popular African-American alive was Cab Calloway, the 25-year-old jazz bandleader and entertainer who held forth in Harlem nightclubs, on NBC network radio, and on tours of the United States and Europe. An opinion poll among some 400 African-American high school students in St. Louis ranked Calloway second only to Thomas Edison in name recognition; Calloway was far better known than Napoleon, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Charles Lindbergh.[8]

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[6] "Duke Ellington Records New Disc," Chicago Defender, Oct. 28, 1933, p. 8.

[7] "Ethel Waters Wins Laurels in New Show; Star of Palais Royal Floor Show in New York," Norfolk Journal and Guide, Feb. 10, 1934, p. 14; "Ethel Waters at a Mere Trifle of $7,000 Per Week," Norfolk Journal and Guide, Feb. 24, 1934, p. 13.

Woodson should have included radio in his target sights. Ellington's and Calloway's fame spread on radio. By 1933, some claimed Calloway had eclipsed Duke Ellington as "king of radio jazz." It was news whenever an African-American broke into the new medium, as when a singer and dancer at Cincinnati's Cotton Club, Bennie Pinkett, eased onto the airwaves and "announces the club's programs twice nightly on station WFBE."[9]

In 1932, the fast-growing NBC radio network was broadcasting from the Cotton Club for 30 minutes, three nights a week. That summer listeners could tune in at 11:45 p.m. Mondays and at midnight Wednesdays and Fridays and hear Baron Lee and his Blue Rhythm Band. Cab Calloway, on tour for NBC, would be back in September.[10] In Chicago that summer, Detroit's Howard Bunts and his Dixie Ramblers were playing five nights a week and were broadcast nightly on WMBC and WXYZ.[11]

If radio gave currency to the music itself, the African-American press gave more attention to the careers and lives of jazz celebrities. Calloway's career became the focus of photographs and stories after his band followed Ellington's at the Cotton Club in 1931.[12] The media net included even people associated with the stars. When Ellington's third cornetist, Little Freddie Jenkins, sent "his best regards" to his family and friends in Chicago, the Chicago Defender carried a story.[13] Stories were written about anybody close to Calloway -- his sister, Blanche Calloway, and his bandsmen with their "queer nicknames"--Foots, Flat, Dunky, Deedlo, Cash, Slop, Fruit and Place.[14] Another article cited a report in the white press, the New York Daily News, that the Calloway band and the Claude Hopkins band had eclipsed the white Ozzie Nelson band and had become the "standards by which 'hot' bands are measured...with the irrepressible Cab leading the fiery procession."[15]

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[8] "Cab Calloway's Picture," [editorial] Baltimore Afro-American, Nov. 25, 1933, p. 16.

[9] "Radio Announcer," Chicago Defender, Oct. 21, 1933, p. 8.

[10] Bessye Bearden, "Around New York," Chicago Defender, Aug. 27, 1932, p. 9.

[11] Walter Barnes Jr., "Hittin' the High Notes," Chicago Defender, July 30, 1932, p. 7.

The tune which catapulted Calloway's career in '32 was "Minnie the Moocher." In a sense Minnie and her shady boyfriend Smoky Joe represented exactly what Carter G. Woodson saw as wayward in jazz:

> Now here's the story
> About Minnie the Moocher.
> She was a lowdown hoochy-coocher;
> she was the roughest, toughest frail,
> but Minnie had a heart as big as a whale.

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[12] Jim Haskins, The Cotton Club: A Pictorial and Social History of the Most Famous Symbol of the Jazz Era (New York: Random House, 1977), pp. 68-69.

[13] "Duke Ellington's Musician Writes," Chicago Defender, July 30, 1932, p.6.

[14] "Cab's Bandmen Have Queer Nicknames," Baltimore Afro-American, Oct. 7, 1933, p. 19.

[15] Baltimore Afro-American, Oct. 14, 1933, p. 19.

In advocating the criminalization of jazz, Woodson was articulating his heartfelt disgust not only for jazz, but for the values jazz perpetuated. Throughout the "Jazz Age" of the 1920s, few African-American elites accepted improvisational jazz as having any redeeming musical or social value. "Jazz at its worst is Negro music broken down" and its composers "have produced some horrible melodies which intelligent Negroes deplore," a contributor to Woodson's Negro History Bulletin concluded as late as 1939.[16]

Even those avant-garde African-American elites who might tolerate the playing of jazz or even admire strains from Duke Ellington could hardly condone the lifestyles associated with jazz. Illicit drinking in speakeasies and night clubs, promiscuous women, dancing, eroticism and others vices often involved Prohibition Era bootleggers and mobsters. Minnie the Moocher and Smoky Joe matched the description of characters Woodson wanted put to death. "I do not seriously object to clean dancing," Woodson wrote, "but it does seem to me that the world can dance without jazz. The people danced beautifully before they ever heard of jazz."[17]

In the press, on radio and in conversation, jazz had taken on another bizarre aspect. Now, fictional characters, born in lyrics, were taking on a glamorous life of their own. "Minnie has become almost as celebrated and popular as Cab himself," said one story out of New York. Through radio Calloway had made Minnie "one of the most famous 'girl friends' in the country....Although Minnie is rather wild and wicked, Cab hastens to point out that her unrefined dancing and her association with such a questionable character as 'Smoky Joe' are somewhat redeemed by her big heart and several other likeable human traits. Cab wouldn't want to make her all bad."[18]

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[16] "Negro History Week to Feature Musicians and Their Music," The Negro History Bulletin, II:5 (February 1939), p. 34.

[17] Woodson, "Hindrance," Oct. 14, 1933.

Celebrity watching was a relatively new phenomenon in African-American society. Newspaper editors were happy to have celebrities of their own to chronicle, and the public seemed to appreciate it as well. Beginning in the 1920s, stories about jazz stars tended to be laudatory, with no sense of probing for the unknown. Editors capitalized on the exploits of entertainers who were finding a new way to make a living and seemed to be breaking some color barriers.

By the late 1920s, so many stories were being written about jazz and performers that editors began grouping them on designated pages. Here were found entertainment columns, stories and listings of radio programs and live performances. On its entertainment pages, the Baltimore Afro-American published the columns "Looking at the Stars" and "Chicago Nite Life." Here readers found an article by Duke Ellington's ex-wife, Edna, admitting that, "Well, yes, I am a music widow" and a story on what Louis Armstrong was doing in Chicago.[19] The Norfolk Journal and Guide grouped entertainment pages under the heading "Trailing the Stars--Radio--Screen--Stage." This is where fans found news of Duke Ellington's latest conquest. "Hollywood is up in the air over the presence of Duke Ellington and his Knights of Rhythm," noted a dispatch from the Associated Negro Press, quoting one Hollywood woman's wild abandon: "I've gone native and i don't care who knows it."20

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[18] "'Minnie the Moocher' Is Seen in East," Chicago Defender, July 30, 1932, p. 6.

[19] Ralph Matthews, "Looking at the Stars," Baltimore Afro-American, Oct. 21, 1933, p. 18; Allan McMillan, "Chicago Nite Life," Baltimore Afro-American, Oct. 21, 1933, p. 19.

The Chicago Defender titled its entertainment section "Stage-Music-Movies." There it published a regular column "Hittin' the High Notes" by Walter Barnes Jr., himself the bandleader of the Royal Creolians, and news stories such as "Duke Ellington Leads in Radio" and "Cab Calloway Band in South Carolina."21 Stories about the success of Chicago jazzmen were naturals for the section. In the summer of 1932, Earl Hines, the reputed "Chicago King of Jazz" took Connecticut by storm. "Earl Hines' piano playing, the band's jungle music and the singing of Billy Franklin are among the things Hartford raves about most."22 But the pages also followed Harlem doings under a listing "Around New York."23

Barnes liked competition and some of his items communicated the sporting nature of jazz playoffs. In the summer of '32 he reported a "three-way battle of jazz" in Danville, Illinois, where an African-

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20"Trailing the Stars," Norfolk Journal and Guide, March 10, 1934, p. 13.

21Walter Barnes Jr., "Hittin' the High Notes," Chicago Defender, Aug. 23, 1932, p. 6.

22"Earl Hines' Band Takes Connecticut," Chicago Defender, July 9, 1932, p. 7.

23Bearden, "Around New York," Aug. 27, 1932, p. 9.

American band, Walter Wardell and his Eleven Black Diamonds from San Antonio, Texas, "were the victors...against two white bands." A second three-way jazz battle in Augusta, Georgia, ended with Clarence Pickney and his Imperial Orchestra "declared the winners" over G. Fess Mitchell and his Cotton Choppers and A. Lee Simpkins' Augusta Nighthawks.[24]

The press frequently encouraged jazz, recognizing promising young musicians. After Barnes left column-writing in 1933, the Defender carried a new column called "The Orchestras." It was written by another entertainer, Jack Ellis, whom the Defender had recognized a year earlier as leader of a trendy "novelty band" in which "all sing with some few adding a dance step or two...making the thing more entertaining."[25] In turn, Ellis occasionally boosted promising musicians trying to make names for themselves after playing with famous bandleaders. These included "Eddie Alston, formerly with the Cab Calloway band" and William France, the "get-away" tenor and double sax player "formerly at the Cotton Club with Les Hite's and Louis Armstrong's band. We'll be on the lookout for you, Bill."[26]

But for all the success enjoyed by some jazzmen, there was a downside, provoked by the Depression. Many bands did not survive the economic drought, and many excellent musicians found themselves out of steady work. In Harlem, musicians eager for work accused police bands of taking away work and threatened legal action.27

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[24] Barnes, "Hittin' High Notes," July 30, p. 7.

[25] "Novelty Banks Now the Thing, Writer Discovers on Rounds," Chicago Defender, Aug. 27, 1932, p. 9.

[26] Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras," Chicago Defender, July 1, 1933, p. 9.

The press occasionally served a socio-economic role, as a clearinghouse for jobs. So, in the summer of '32, columnist Walter Barnes mentioned that "Preston Jackson, formerly with Louis Armstrong's orchestra, wants all his friends to know that he is back in the Windy City and would appreciate all jobs coming his way." Barnes was hopeful for "better times" in the fall season. "While investigating the theaters, ballrooms, etc., I found that there will be plenty of openings for first-class organized bands soon....My suggestion is to keep rehearsing and in shape for you may be among those who will find a job."28

If African-Americans thought Europe was any better, Carter G. Woodson urged them to take off their blinders. In Paris, Woodson found that African-American musicians "stranded" and suffering from the decline of the jazz craze. He talked with them, asking "these artists why they had come to Europe and had remained there." He heard various reasons:

> Several had dreamed of economic advantages, a few had come to have a good time, and a number had undertaken to solve the race problem by transplantation without providing against hunger in the near future. A much larger number came with the wave of

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27"Harlem Musicians Accuse the Police Bands of Taking Work," Chicago Defender, Oct. 21, 1933, p. 9.

28Barnes, "Hittin' High Notes," July 30, 1932, p. 7.

jazz which swept over Europe after the World War.[29]

Those who had fled segregation in the United States had reason to think France was colorblind. The African-American press had made much of France's acceptance of African-Americans, particularly jazz players.

The most romanticized stories about African-Americans in Europe focused on their success with French women. "Jazz and Romance Go Hand and Hand in Paris," read a headline in the Baltimore Afro-American entertainment section just a month after Woodson's article. Editors posed the question, "Why do the beautiful French women fall in love with Harlem musicians?" Photographs of two women, presumably French, gazed adoringly upon a photograph of Noble Sissle's Famous Parisian Band, "the type that the women of Paris love."[30] The year before, one of Lucky Millinder's band, Arnold Pratt, created a stir when he "married a 22-year-old French blonde, who he met in Nice three weeks ago." When Millinder's band sailed back to the United States after nine weeks in Monte Carlo and Paris, Pratt "deserted" to "make a 'go' of it on this side."[31] Months later, the columnist "Street Wolf" reported that Pratt had moved on to play in Amsterdam and was "fine and doing nicely."32

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[29] Woodson, "Hindrance," Oct. 14, 1933.

[30] "Jazz and Romance Go Hand in Hand in Paris," Baltimore Afro-American, Nov. 11, 1933, p. 18. The columnist J. A. Rogers reported noted that in France after World War I women outnumbered men 3 to 2. This, he said, accounted for more "frankness" in sexual matters. J. A. Rogers, "Sex: As Europe Accepts It," Amsterdam News, Sept. 2, 1928, p. 6.

[31] "Millinder's Band Ordered to Quit Paris Immediately," Chicago Defender, Oct. 28, 1933, p. 8.

France's acceptance of African-Americans had been publicized for years. Among the very first African-Americans to be received joyously were the musicians in the band of James Reese Europe, a lieutenant who led his Hellfighters Band in France during World War I and was persuaded to stay and play until 1919.

Paris and London were both eager for music and welcomed an increasing number of African-American musicians, among them clarinetist and sax player Sidney Bechet. In 1919, at 22, he scored triumphs in London with the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, and in 1925 arrived in Paris. "It seems bizarre," wrote his biographer, "that Sidney Bechet had to travel to Europe to receive the sort of expert acclaim that was worthy of his vast talents."33 In 1928, the Noble Sissle Band, playing at the Ambassadeurs in Paris, was "held over indefinitely due to the popularity of the band." Sissle's "bluebook" of autographed plaudits "is the talk of European social circles."34

The adulation abroad was all the more welcome in light of the caustic resistance to jazz in many parts of the United States. Opponents included leaders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs One, Mrs. Max Oberdorfer of Chicago, declared that popular music had become "unspeakable....Ninety percent of it would not be allowed to go

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[32] Street Wolf, "London, Paris--At Night," Chicago Defender, Jan. 13, 1934, p. 9.

[33] John Chilton, Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 35-40.

[34] "Sissle and Bank Will Remain at Ambassadeurs," Amsterdam News, Aug. 29, 1928, p. 7; "Negro Entertainers in Europe," Amsterdam News, Sept. 2, 1928, p. 6.

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through the mails if it were literature."35 Clergymen identified the Devil in the notes. In 1926, the pastor of New York's Calvary Baptist Church said, "Jazz, with its...appeal to the sensuous should be stamped out." In Cincinnati that year, the Salvation Army sued to prevent construction a jazz palace next to one of its homes for girls where young people would be "subjected to the implanting of jazz emotions by such forced proximity."36

By 1933, some jazzmen had become major Continental legends. That summer, Duke Ellington made a successful tour of Europe, followed in the fall by Louis Armstrong. A story about Armstrong's tour predicted "will clean up, so anxious are the fans in those countries to hear their idol in the flesh."37 Early in 1934, the era's most famous jazz promoter, Irving Mills, who by then handled Ellington and Armstrong, was sailing for Europe to arrange a tour by Cab Calloway and the Cotton Club Band.38

African-American women also found respect in France. In 1925, the gorgeous Josephine Baker had arrived in Paris with the same "The Black Revue" in which Bechet was playing; within months Baker departed to

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35"Cut Out the Teas for Women Voters," New York Times, June 19, 1920, p. 23.

36Monroe Berger, "Jazz: Resistance to the Diffusion of a Culture-Pattern," Journal of Negro History, XXXII (October 1947), p. 463.

37"Louis Armstrong Splits With Manager; Both Admit to Break," Chicago Defender, Oct. 21, 1933, p. 8.

38"Calloway Booked for Trip Abroad; Irving Mills Also Plans to Assemble Chorus of Beautiful Sepia Dancers," Norfolk Journal and Guide, Feb. 17, 1934, p. 13.

win fame singing and dancing at the Folies Bergere. In 1932 the actress's intention to become a French citizen was highly publicized. She had been "won by the French people through their unprejudiced attitude toward all people regardless of color."39 That same month, the Defender's front page featured a photograph from Paris of a "beautiful Race girl" who was modeling for a "leading French designer." Her experience "shows the democratic spirit of the French people who always recognize beauty and merit wherever they find it."40

But there was a downside. If the press was irresponsible, it was in not featuring the negative aspects of the jazz craze as prominently as it highlighted the successes. In 1927, the Amsterdam News -- which supported Prohibition and covered jazz the least -- published one of the first evenhanded commentaries on the status of African-Americans in France. In it, the European traveler-columnist J. A. Rogers agreed that in Europe "color prejudice is as rare as it is plentiful in Georgia or Florida." "But here," he cautioned those about to emigrate, "another problem faces the Negro, as any other immigrant, for that matter -- a problem that is much sharper -- the job."41

Rogers concluded that only musicians had fared well economically. "The jazz era created a vogue for the black musician and performer in Europe....These find themselves in a field all their own -- a field in

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39"Chooses France," Chicago Defender, July 23, 1932, p. 20; Chilton, Bechet, pp. 73-77.

40"French Mannequin," Chicago Defender, July 16, 1932, p. 1.

41J. A. Rogers, "The American Negro in Paris," Amsterdam News, Sept. 14, 1927, p. 14.

which their color is all in their favor." Indeed by 1927, he said, since the African-American soldiers had long gone, the majority of Negroes found in Europe were musicians and a few prize fighters.

What of the others? In "a keener struggle for existence," they had failed to adapt to a job market stagnated by a "surplus of labor [and] low wages." In his travels, Rogers said,

> Some of the most bitter and disappointed I have ever met are Negroes who have come to England or France thinking that because of the absence of color prejudice they would be able also to get the economic essentials [but] found instead...almost every hand seemed stretched to get or to take what they have...The American has been much maligned in this."42

Six years later the scene had changed significantly, Woodson found. In 1933, he concluded that even African-American jazzmen had lost their niche. Jazz, Woodson wrote, "like any other vicious thrill, ran its course and ceased to offer the opportunities once dreamed of." In talking with "stranded members of the once popular jazz aggregations," he heard them

> complaining that Europeans do not like them now as much as they did years ago....Europeans, moreover, are now popularizing their own jazz; and they are employing Negroes from their colonies. Most of the "the boys"...have gone back home; and others will return as soon as they can find the means.

African-American jazz, he concluded, had run its course. "English pleasure centers [now] advertise their own jazz performers, and the Parisian cafes play up 'Hot French Jazz.' Their ardor for it, however, has considerably cooled off in recent years....Jazz has

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[42] Ibid.

about had its day among thinking people."43

A new strain of racism seemed to be infecting Europeans, and, to its credit, the press reflected this in numerous stories. In the summer of 1933, it was front-page news back home when the great Duke Ellington and his band members were refused rooms at hotels occupied by American whites. A story in London's Sunday Express asked, "Is it possible for a Negro to find accommodation in a first class hotel in London?" Another reporter declared that the band "faced Jim Crow here in its meanest colors."44

Writing about three months later, Woodson noted that one reason for this change of attitude was that "Negroes thus employed have not always behaved well on the continent. They have found too much pleasure among the vicious and the criminal classes."45 The story on Ellington's being denied a room also blamed earlier African-Americans, specifically "the unpleasant incidents which marked the stay of a well-known company of actors....Englishmen are now going to great trouble to prove that they are well versed in the example of race prejudice set by their white American cousins, and are judging all Race folk by the few."46 Indeed, in 1927, such incidents in London led the "better class of performers" to worry that the English would

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[43] Woodson, "Hindrance," Oct. 14, 1933.

[44] "Duke Ellington Welcome in London Cafes; Not in Hotel," Chicago Defender, July 1, 1933, p. 8.

[45] Woodson, "Hindrance" Oct. 14, 1933.

[46] "Ellington," July 1, 1933.

bar all African-Americans.47

Sidney Bechet was one of the jazzman who "have not always behaved well." In London in 1922, Bechet was charged with unlawfully assaulting a woman; Bechet pleaded innocent, alleging that the woman was a prostitute who "pushed me in a room and knocked me on a bed." Nonetheless, he was found guilty, sentenced to 14 days with hard labor at Brixton prison, and ordered deported. His appeal was denied, partly because his record showed two previous fines, and he was put on a ship to New York on Nov. 3, 1922.48

His rowdiness in Paris in 1928 was even more remarkable because it was so public and injured innocent weekend nightclubbers in Montmartre. It was also an insight into the rivalries and disputes among African-American musicians. The New York Times story reprinted on the front page of the Amsterdam News was headlined "Jealous American Musicians Stage Gun Duel in Paris." Bechet and banjo player Mike McKendrick of Paducah, Kentucky, possibly after downing several drinks at the nightspot Bricktop's, reportedly began arguing over which one had "the larger following." But according to pianist Charlie Lewis, the two "were arguing about the harmonies on a number we had just played....Mike got his gun out. Sidney disappeared then came back armed as well." Pianist Glover Comptom claimed that Bechet was offended when McKendrick remarked about Bechet's habit of not paying for a round of drinks. Guitarist Everett Barksdale believed they were

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47"Better Class of Performers Abroad Fear England Will Attempt to Bar All," Amsterdam News, Sept. 7, 1927, p. 13.

48Chilton, Bechet, pp. 53-54.

arguing over a woman.49

What followed, Lewis said, was "like the scene of a fight straight out of a cowboy movie." In the night air, bullets flew and ricocheted. The Times story reported that one passerby, an Australian dancer, was shot twice in the chest, and a French woman on her way to work was shot in the side. Compton was hit in the leg. Bechet was grazed and said his stiff shirt collar saved him. Both musicians were convicted; Bechet was sentenced to 15 months, but eventually was released in less than a year and evidently ordered to leave France.50

These manifestations of jazz underscored the importance of assaulting jazz as a menace to the race. The conclusions abroad and at home was simple for a man with vision: disown jazz. "It is said that the Negro created jazz. If he did so he should be ashamed of it," Woodson wrote from Paris. Indeed, Woodson argued, nobody seemed to want credit for jazz. "We do not find many writers producing books to dispute with the Negro the origin of jazz as they are doing in the case of the spirituals....We cannot win the respect of the world unless we cease to make excuses for and stop defending our vicious classes." He wanted a moral crusade and a return to classical music. "Negroes must join in such a crusade."51

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[49] "Jealous American Musicians Stage Gun Duel in Paris," Amsterdam News, Dec. 26, 1928, p. 1; Chilton, Bechet, pp. 83-84.

[50] Chilton, Bechet, p. 84; "Jealous American Musicians," Dec. 26, 1928.

[51] Woodson, "Hindrance," Oct. 14, 1933.

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Woodson's crusade of course went nowhere. Americans are too diverse to be shackled by a cultural czar who dictates which activities should express the essence of a culture. When Woodson seemed to be aspiring to the position, outlawing jazz in favor of the classics, he was soon challenged. Baltimore Afro-American columnist Ralph Matthews commented that Woodson "stuck his historical nose into the wrong keyhole when he opened an attack on the jazz makers." Matthews printed a response from a musician in Cambridge, Massachusetts, H. Hume Gibson, who said Woodson "displayed a shocking lack of insight into the trend of modern times." Jazz "could no more be destroyed than was the desire for alcohol by prohibitory laws."[52]

The press and its audience continued to feature jazz in all its permutations. And Woodson and other elites continued to snipe. Music teachers battled jazz face-to-face in the foxholes with young pupils who preferred jazz to classical training. In 1934, one music teacher published his system for "carrying...pupils safely through the so-called 'jazz-craze' and converting them to classical music." He "overdosed" pupils on light jazz rhythms until they begged for relief in classical pieces.[53]

Many African-American scholars continued to ignore jazz or discount it. W.E.B. DuBois (Black Folk Then and Now, 1939) dismissed African-American music in one paragraph without mentioning jazz.

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[52] "Jazz: Musician Raps Carter Woodson's Intellectual Knuckles," Baltimore Afro-American, Nov. 17, 1933, p. 18.

[53] R. M. Coodbrod, "Conquering the Jazz Craze of Young Pianists," Etude, 52 (February 1934), p. 82.

Benjamin Brawley (The Negro Genius, 1937) noted that "strident" jazz originated in the new Northern "Negro slums" teeming with migrants from the South. Jazz, he said, satisfied the "popular demand for the exotic and exciting."

Given his influence as a shaper of history, Woodson suppressed jazz in the Journal of Negro History. If he could not control the print media or the radio, he could at least prevent the legitimization of jazz in his own historical journals. For a generation, from 1916 to 1947, the Journal did not publish a single article on jazz or a single review of a book on jazz.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S "LADIES' DEPARTMENT": A PUBLIC FORUM FOR BLACK WOMEN JOURNALISTS OF THE 1830s

by

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S "LADIES' DEPARTMENT": A PUBLIC FORUM FOR BLACK WOMEN JOURNALISTS OF THE 1830s

ABSTRACT

Societal restraints on women in the nineteenth century restricted their access into the public arena, while also dictating what civic activities were suitable for maintaining a woman's reputation. Few opportunities were available in which black women could be allowed to express themselves freely without censorship or attempts to silence their voices. One of the few exceptions was William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and his "Ladies' Department" columns. Since no black-owned newspapers were available at the beginning of the 1830s, many black women turned to the *Liberator* not only because of the encouragement that Garrison offered women who sought to join the movement for blacks' full citizenship rights, but also for the opportunity to speak out for the first time. Those who were brave enough to speak out against societal and cultural injustices served as role models for less courageous individuals. This study focuses on the Ladies' Department and some of the women who contributed essays, speeches, letters, and poems to the column, writing to voice opposition to slavery, as well as to point out discriminatory practices in such areas as education, civil rights, and religion.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON'S "LADIES' DEPARTMENT": A PUBLIC FORUM FOR BLACK WOMEN JOURNALISTS OF THE 1830s

Prior to the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, numerous trials and tribulations threatened the existence of blacks in the United States, particular the ill effects of slavery. Seeking strength in numbers, abolitionists enlisted the aid of black women, who realized the necessity of dealing with societal barriers before actual emancipation could ever be achieved. Women had long been considered the center of the black family, as well as of the black community. These women realized the significance of their contributions and the need for their involvement in the struggle for education and moral values, as well as in the abolition of slavery--discovering the ideal outlet from which to express dissatisfaction with the treatment and lifestyle of blacks and to devise ways to improve their situation. However, they soon determined that few doors were open to their endeavors, with one exception--William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. In the *Liberator*'s "Ladies' Department", black women expressed their discontent in the forms of poems, essays, letters, and speeches that few editors, even those operating black newspapers, were willing to print.

Women of the nineteenth century were not encouraged to make a public spectacle of themselves by complaining about the conditions of their lifestyles or the circumstances of the misfortunate. Societal restraints--based on gender and class--dictated their personal, as well as public, conduct and influenced their choice of civic activities. Engaging in charitable activities and church duties--along with campaigning for temperance, moral improvement, and educational reform--

satisfied societal expectations of womanhood and also allowed the women to contribute toward the well-being of their race.[1]

However, because of social taboos concerning the public conduct of American females, women brave enough to voice their opinions in public were rare. Men were the acknowledged leaders of the black community and of their homes, dictating rules of conduct that precluded free speech in public places for their wives, daughters, and sisters.[2] Speaking, petitioning, or organizing in public defense of an issue violated all aspects of Victorian procedure for women's public activities.[3] However, any woman who displayed enough courage to face the hostile crowds served as a model for emulation and provided guidance for others anxious, but diffident, about joining the movement.[4]

For those women who defied the limitations on race and sex, activities such as campaigning for education, moral and social reform, and antislavery became as important as their daily domestic duties. Consequently, civic involvement is what led these black women into an association with newspaperman William Lloyd Garrison, who would come to value their writing skills and to encourage them to publish in his paper, as well as others to come. Garrison's *Liberator* and Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation* offered two of the few available outlets for the black writers in the area in the early 1930s, since no black-owned newspapers were known to be operating during the period.[5] The *Liberator* provided the perfect forum in which black women could present their causes to the American people, particularly to the black community. Of the 450 subscribers to the paper in the first year, 400 were black.[6]

The *Liberator* offered women the opportunity to address the topics that affected them most--religion, education, antislavery, and equal rights. Their words of protest, comfort, and inspiration took the forms of essays, poetry, letters, and speeches directed not only to their own race, but to the members of white America who were willing to listen.

The names of many women would occupy the columns of the "Ladies' Department", but the first black woman to offer her writings to Garrison was Maria W. Stewart, a widowed activist and teacher who felt that she had heard a calling from God to go forth and speak out against the oppression of her race and the advancement of women. She later explained:

> Methinks I heard a spiritual interrogation -- "Who shall go forward, and take off the reproach that is cast upon the people of color? Shall it be a woman?" And my heart made this reply -- "If it is thy will, be it even so, Lord Jesus!"[7]

Up until this revelation in 1831, Maria Stewart, as homemaker and activist, had lived according to the rules of American society. Born in Hartford, Conn., in 1803 and orphaned at the age of five, Maria Miller began her life as a servant girl for a clergyman's family. In an attempt to acquire an education, she left her job at age 15 to attend Sabbath Schools for the next five years. From the church classes, she received the basics of literacy, along with thorough religious instruction.[8]

She married James W. Stewart, a shipping agent and War of 1812 veteran, on August 10, 1826, and spent much of her time taking care of their home in Boston and reading the Bible and *Walker's Appeal*.[9] She came to share David Walker's often controversial ideals and wanted to express them openly, despite both black and white societies' obvious hesitation at granting him free expression in a public arena. But like

Walker, she maintained the belief that America was "the land of freedom" with a press "at liberty" to print what it deemed necessary, and "(e)very man has a right to express his opinion."[10]

After Walker's mysterious death in 1830, one year after James Stewart's death, she pledged her life to promoting "the cause of God." Her views on religion and social justice were so intertwined that one could not be promoted without an additional commitment to the other. Underlying these views was the ever-present idea that the primary responsibility for achieving success as a race rested squarely on the shoulders of the black women, preferably through religion.

Stewart made her first appeal to society in a pamphlet published by abolitionist and newspaperman William Lloyd Garrison. The essay, *Religion and The Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation On Which We Must Build*, was Stewart's pioneering statement of her views on religion, abolition, and women's rights. It foretold of the outspoken path she would take in her career as a lecturer and as a writer.

When Stewart visited Garrison and his colleague Isaac Knapp at the offices of the *Liberator* in the fall of 1831, she brought with her the completed manuscript of her challenge to the black community. Although the *Liberator* would later become a major voice in the antislavery movement, at the time of Stewart's visit to the office at No. 11 Merchant's Hall in Boston, Garrison and Knapp were struggling to produce the weekly paper with meager financial resources. The entire operation, Garrison later recalled, was contained in one room with "small windows besmattered with printer's ink; the press standing in one corner. . . the bed of the editor and publisher on the floor."[11] Garrison later explained that they had agreed to print the paper for as long as they could exist on minimal food and shelter.

Garrison was so impressed with Stewart and her views that he not only agreed to publish her manuscript and future writings, but he also offered her the opportunity to write for the *Liberator*. In a letter to Stewart fifty years later, Garrison explained:

> You were in the flush and promise of ripening womanhood, with a graceful form and a pleasant countenance. You made yourself known to me by coming into my office and putting into my hands, for criticism and friendly advice, a manuscript embodying your devotional thoughts and aspirations, and also various essays pertaining to the condition of that class with which you were complexionally identified. You will recollect, if not the surprise, at least the satisfaction I expressed on examining what you had written--far more remarkable in those early days than it would be now, when there are so many educated persons of color who are able to write with ability. I not only gave you words of encouragement, but in my printing office put your manuscript into type, an edition of which was struck off, in tract form, subject to your order. I was impressed by your intelligence and excellence of character.[12]

Garrison printed Stewart's pamphlet and offered it to the public in an October 8, 1831, issue of the *Liberator*. The advertisement announced:

> For sale at this office, a tract addressed to the people of color, by Mrs. Maria W. Steward, a respectable colored lady of this city. Its title is, 'Religion And The Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation On Which We Must Build.' The production is most praiseworthy, and confers great credit on the talents and piety of its author. We hope she will have many patrons. Extracts of the paper hereafter. Price 6 cents.[13]

In compliance with the conventions of the day, Garrison printed Stewart's first literary endeavor, as well as her later writings, under the heading "Ladies' Department." The logo depicted a kneeling black woman, shackled and in a begging pose with the following appeal suspended overhead -- "Am I not a Woman and a Sister?" The notation--

"By a young lady of color"--would also become a familiar sight, often emphasized by the pointing finger from the figure of a hand to indicate Ladies' Department contributors. The inaugural appearance of the Ladies' Department on January 7, 1832, also included the following explanation:

> The fact that one million of the female sex are reduced, by the slave system, to the most deplorable condition--compelled to perform the most laborious and unseemly tasks--liable to be whipped to an unmerciful degree--exposed to all the violence of lust and passion--and treated with more indelicacy and cruelty than cattle, ought to excite the sympathy and indignation of American women. We have therefore concluded, that a Ladies' Department in the Liberator would add greatly to its interest, and give new impetus to the cause of emancipation.[14]

Stewart's fortuitous visit provided Garrison with the opportunity to reach a growing female faction that had never really been addressed directly, and who better to talk to American women than another woman? In the same issue, Garrison printed an excerpt from Stewart's essay. It appeared as:

> 'Mrs. Steward's Essays.' Extract from 'Religion and the pure principles of morality the sure foundation on which we [the people of color] must build' by Mrs. Maria W. Steward [sic].
>
> It is of no use for us to sit with our hands folded, hanging our heads like bulrushes, lamenting our wretched condition; but let us make a mighty effort and arise, and if no one will promote or respect us, let us promote and respect ourselves.
>
> The American ladies have the honor conferred on them, that by prudence and economy in their domestic concerns, and their unwearied attention in forming the minds and manners of their children, they laid the foundation of their becoming what they now are. . . . Why cannot we do something to distinguish ourselves, and contribute some of our hard earnings that would reflect honor upon our memories, and cause our children to arise and call us blessed? Shall it any longer be said of the daughters of Africa, they have no ambition, they have no force? By no means.[15]

The pamphlet's messages, large in both the range of subjects and the number addressed, were typical of Stewart's views. She singled out the black women in the audience, citing the special responsibilities women possessed in the black community--the pursuit of intellectual achievement, the cultivation of virtues, and the capacity to instill virtues and a thirst for knowledge in the minds of the children. According to Stewart, education was the key to advancement for the black race. She believed that "the day on which we unite, heart and soul, and turn our attention to knowledge and improvement, that day the hissing and reproach among the nations of the earth against us will cease." Those enemies, she believed, who pointed "at us with the finger of scorn, will aid and befriend us."[16]

Stewart admonished those black women who would be ambitious and seek knowledge to unite and raise the funds themselves and with God's help "at the end of one year and a half, we might be able to lay the corner stone for the building of a High School, that the higher branches of knowledge might be enjoyed by us."[17]

However, Stewart concluded, intellectual prowess could only be achieved with the help of God and religious teachings. She feared that the younger generation of black men and women were "fainting and drooping" by the wayside for lack of religious faith. She wrote:

> . . . when I see how few care to distinguish themselves either in religious or moral improvement, and when I see the greater part of our community following the vain bubbles of life with so much eagerness, which will only prove to them like the serpent's sting upon the bed of death, I really think we are in as wretched and miserable a state as was the house of Israel in the days of Jeremiah.[18]

The task of teaching the young men and women, according to Stewart, was the sole responsibility of the women. As was the tradition, the mother was the core of the family's moral, as well as economical, lessons. She reminded the women:

> O, ye mothers, what a responsibility rests on you! You have souls committed to your charge, and God will require a strict account of you. It is you that must create in the minds of your little girls and boys a thirst for knowledge, the love of virtue, the abhorrence of vice, and the cultivation of a pure heart. The seeds thus sown will grow with their growing years; and the love of virtue thus early formed in the soul will protect their inexperienced feet from many dangers.[19]

These issues of education, religion, and child-rearing would appear continuously--usually all three at one time--in Stewart's speeches and articles. These issues were stressed again in Stewart's second tract, which Garrison promoted in the *Liberator*'s March 17, 1832, issue. The twenty-eight-page pamphlet was a collection of religious meditations and prayers. The advertisement stated:

> 10 cents--Meditations: from the pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart. We commend her 'Meditations,' which partake largely of a devotional spirit, to the patronage of the people of color, and of all those among the whites who are disposed to encourage genius and piety in a person of her complexion.[20]

Encouraged by the publication of two of her essays, Stewart prepared to speak in public for the first time. She assumed the role of lecturer at a time when it was considered highly inappropriate for a woman to step forward and speak out. However, during the spring of 1832, she received encouragement and support from a surprising group of individuals, the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston. In January, Garrison had printed, in the Ladies' Department, the group's purpose and goals in the preamble to their constitution in the columns of the *Liberator*. A group dedicated to promoting intellectual discussion, the society declared:

> Whereas the subscribers, women of color of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, actuated by a natural feeling for the welfare of our friends, have thought fit to associate for the diffusion of knowledge, the suppression of vice and immorality, and for cherishing such virtues as will render us happy and useful to society, sensible of the gross ignorances under which we have too long labored, but trusting, by the

> blessing of God, we shall be able to accomplish the object of our union--we have therefore associated ourselves under the name of the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society. . .[21]

Stewart addressed the society's members in the spring of 1832, and the speech was subsequently printed as an essay in April in the *Liberator*. In the same edition of the *Liberator*, Garrison printed a disclaimer regarding the speech's publication. It read:

> It is proper to state that Address of Mrs. Stewart, in our Ladies' Department to-day, is published at her own request, and not by desire of the Society before whom it was delivered. Mrs. S. uses very plain, some may call it severe language; but we are satisfied that she is actuated by good motives, and that her only aim is to rouse a spirit of virtuous emulation in the breasts of her associates, and to elevate the whole colored population. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'[22]

Garrison's attempt to explain the harshness of Stewart's words did little to assuage the severity of her statements. Her lecture to the society began with an apocalyptic view of the life of blacks in America and ended with homey and practical advice to wives and mothers. She castigated blacks for not doing enough in their own behalf. She renewed her position as an advocate for "the cause of God and for the cause of freedom," and she encouraged the audience to join in the causes. She also restated her view that much of the responsibility for racial improvement rested with black women. She stated:

> O woman, woman! Upon you I call; for upon your exertions almost entirely depends whether the rising generation shall be any thing more than we have been or not. O woman, woman! Your example is powerful, your influence great; it extends over your husbands and your children, and throughout the circle of your acquaintance. Then let me exhort you to cultivate among yourselves a spirit of Christian love and unity, having charity one for another, without which all our goodness is as sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal. And, O, my God, I beseech thee to grant that the nations of the earth may hiss at us no longer! O suffer them not to laugh us to scorn forever![23]

Following Stewart's speech, the society members planned a more daring meeting for September of 1832. They sponsored a speech by a young abolitionist before a "promiscuous audience," a mixture of men and women, in Boston's Franklin Hall--the regular monthly meeting place of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. The daring part about the action was the fact that the speaker was both black and a woman, Maria Stewart.

In the year 1832 women did not speak in public, particularly on issues of civil rights and racial and sexual equality.[24] Ironically, even the *Liberator* warned that "the voice of woman should not be heard in public debates" and pointed out other ways in which women's contributions could be beneficial.[25]

Undaunted, Stewart braved the public's disapproval to lecture at No. 16 Franklin Street in Franklin Hall before the group of abolitionists.[26] Despite the earlier editorial against women speaking in public, the *Liberator* editors printed Stewart's essay, "Maria W. Stewart - 'Lecture: Delivered at the Franklin Hall, Boston, September 21st, 1832.'" In the essay, Stewart reiterated her caustic attacks on free blacks who did little to improve their own condition. She pleaded:

> Tell us no more of southern slavery; for with few exceptions, although I may be very erroneous in my opinion, yet I consider our condition but little better than that. Yet, after all, methinks there are no chains so galling as those that bind the soul, and exclude it from the vast field of useful and scientific knowledge. O, had I received the advantages of an early education, my ideas would, ere now, have expanded far and wide; but, alas! I possess nothing but moral capability--no teachings but the teachings of the Holy Spirit.[27]

The whites in the audience were not spared from Stewart's attacks. She told how white society's relegation of blacks to menial jobs "deadens the energies of the soul and benumbs the faculties of the mind." She denounced the social structure that required the constant toil of black men and women:

> Few white persons of either sex, who are calculated for anything else, are willing to spend their lives and bury their talents in performing mean, servile labor. And such is the horrible idea that I entertain respecting a life of servitude, that if I conceived of their [sic] being no possibility of my rising above the condition of servant, I would gladly hail death as a welcome messenger. O, horrible idea, indeed! to possess noble souls aspiring after high and honorable acquirements, yet confined by the chains of ignorance and poverty to lives of continual drudgery and toil. Neither do I know of any who have enriched themselves by spending their lives as house domestics, washing windows, shaking carpets, brushing boots, or tending upon gentlemen's tables.[28]

She was appalled by the influence of this prejudice against blacks and the effort to prevent them from rising "above the condition of servants." Women, Stewart pointed out, were also perpetuators of this oppression.

> I have asked several individuals of my sex, who transact business for themselves, if providing our girls were to give them the most satisfactory references, they would be willing to grant them an equal opportunity with others? Their reply has been--for their own part, they had no objection; but as it was not the custom, were they to take them into their employ, they would be in danger of losing the public patronage.[29]

Stewart contended that external factors such as these, rather than hereditary deficiencies, molded character and moral values. This idea refuted the position of many anti-abolitionists and white colonizationists who believed that blacks were inherently suited to nothing more than servitude or hard labor. Stewart appealed to the white women in the audience for support of her position:

> O, ye fairer sisters, whose hands are never soiled, whose nerves and muscles are never strained, go learn by experience! Had we had the opportunity that you have had, to improve our moral and mental faculties, what would have hindered our intellects from being as bright, and our manners from being as dignified as yours? Had it been our lot to

> have been nursed in the lap of affluence and ease, and to have basked beneath the smiles and sunshine of fortune, should we not have naturally supposed that we were never made to toil?[30]

Stewart was not totally dismayed by the plight of the black race, and she often lectured on the benefits of hope and belief in the power of God. She recognized many instances when blacks and whites together had made a significant step toward social reform. One such instance was her editorial in response to Garrison's coverage of the Second Annual Convention of the People of Color, held in Philadelphia, June 4-15, 1832. Garrison, one of a group of white "visitors" invited to attend, devoted most of the front page of the June 30 issue to the convention and to the resolutions passed, particularly those on colonization, temperance, and the authorization to raise funds for a negro college. In addition to addressing the closing session of the convention, Garrison visited the Female Literary Association in Philadelphia and encouraged the approximately twenty members to contribute their writings to the *Liberator*. The series of essays by the members began to appear in the June 30 issue, along with Garrison's coverage of the convention. He explained:

> If the traducers of the colored race could be acquainted with the moral worth, just refinement, and large intelligence of this association, their mouths would hereafter be dumb. . . . Having been permitted to bring with him several of these pieces, he [Garrison] ventures to commence their publication, not only for their merit, but in order to induce the colored ladies of other places to go and do likewise.[31]

Stewart offered her own words of support to Garrison's thorough coverage of the convention and the results of the actions taken in Philadelphia. She viewed these preliminary actions, based on God's teachings, as part of a larger movement to "cause our aspirations to ascend up in unison with theirs" and eventually to "become the final means of bursting the bands of oppression." She wrote:

> O, who can be discouraged from persevering in the paths of virtue, and in the ways of well-doing? Where is the soul amongst us that is not fired with a holy ambition? Has not every one a wish to excel in order to encourage those benevolent hearts who are making every exertion in our behalf--whose prayers are ascending up before the majesty on high, like holy incense--whose tears are beginning to flow at Afric's woes? Many have desired to hear those things that we see, and have not seen them. . . . These Anti-slavery societies, in my opinion, will soon cause many grateful tears to flow, and many desponding hearts to bound and leap for joy.[32]

However, within a few months Stewart began to lose heart over the stagnant, rather than burgeoning, opportunities for black advancement. Her criticism of males in the black community grew sharper. The frustration in her words were obvious. She demanded:

> Is it blindness of mind or stupidity of soul or want of education that has caused our men never to let their voices be heard nor their hands be raised in behalf of color? Or has it been for fear of offending the whites? If it has, O ye fearful ones, throw off your fearfulness and come forth. If you are men, convince them that you possess the spirit of men. Have the sons of Africa no souls? Feel they no ambitious desires? Where are our lecturers on natural history and our critics in useful knowledge? . . . Here is the grand cause which hinders the rise and progress of the people of color. It is the want of laudable ambition and requisite courage.[33]

She attributed much of the problem to black men's tendency to go against the teachings of God and to indulge in sin and frivolity. She cautioned:

> I would implore our men, especially our rising youth, to flee from the gambling board and the dance-hall, for we are poor, and have no money to throw away. I do not consider dancing as criminal in itself, but it is astonishing to me that our fine young men are so blind to their own interest and the future welfare of their children as to spend their hard earnings for frivolous amusement; for it has been carried on among us to such an unbecoming extent that it has become absolutely disgusting.[34]

The solution, she concluded as before, was education and self-respect. She exhorted blacks to follow the example of whites in the community. She believed that "[n]othing would raise our respectability, add to our peace and happiness, and reflect so much honor upon us, as to be ourselves the promoters of temperance, and the supporters . . . of useful and scientific knowledge."[35]

Despite presenting a message that many black ministers and journalists had previously promoted, Stewart probably received the impression that she was resented for her religious fervor, as well as for being a woman. Therefore, approximately a year after delivering her first speech to a "promiscuous audience", she bade Boston farewell. In "Mrs. Stewart's Farewell Address To Her Friends In The City of Boston," she not only supported her philosophy on religion, but fervently defended the rights of women to speak. However, her hopes and dreams for political activism against slavery and inequality seemed to have diminished.

Stewart must have felt persecuted for her strong religious faith. She seemed frustrated and almost embittered by her experiences. She wrote:

> Yet, notwithstanding your prospects are thus fair and bright, I am about to leave you, perhaps never more to return. For I find it is no use for me as an individual to try to make myself useful among my color in this city. It was contempt for my moral and religious opinions in private that drove me thus before a public. . . . But some of you have said, 'do not talk so much about religion, the people do not wish to hear you. We know these things, tell us something we do not know.' If you know these things, my dear friends, and have performed them, far happier, and more prosperous would you now have been.[36]

Her disillusionment extended to her quest for improving the lifestyle and social status of blacks in American society. She seemed to have abandoned her beliefs in this area for fear that they created more discord than harmony and hope. She explained:

> Again, those ideas of greatness which are held forth to us, are vain delusions, are airy visions which we shall never realize. All that man can say or do can never elevate us, it is a work that must be effected between God and ourselves. And how? By dropping all political discussions in our behalf, for these, in my opinion, sow the seed of discord, and strengthen the cord of prejudice. A spirit of animosity is already risen, and unless it is quenched, a fire will burst forth and devour us, and our young will be slain by the sword.[37]

According to Stewart, any advancement for the race would be dictated by God's will. She concluded that it was "the sovereign will of God that our condition should be thus and so. . . . It is high time to drop political discussions." Stewart's new philosophy was to wait for a sign from God, "and when our day of deliverance comes, God will provide a way for us to escape, and fight his own battles."[38]

However, her discontent did not encompass her hopes for the future opportunities and the responsibilities of women. Surprising for a woman with a meager educational background, Stewart defended the rights of women, recalling the "high opinion that was formed of the capacity and ability of woman by the ancients" -- describing instances of women "preaching and mixing themselves in controversies" and "occupying the chairs of Philosophy and Justice; women writing in Greek, and studying in Hebrew. Nuns were poetesses, and women of quality Divines." She described how a thirteenth-century "young lady of Bologne" studied Latin and law to earn the degree of Doctor of Laws, later rising to a position "where she taught the law to a prodigious concourse of scholars from all nations."[39]

Stewart used these examples to raise the question to her female audience, if such women existed hundreds of years previously, why not in the nineteenth century? Her words provided encouragement and predicted a future in which women would be allowed to speak out both in private and in public. She prophesied:

> If such women as are here described have once existed, be no longer astonished then, my brethren and friends, that God at this eventful period should raise up your own females to strive, by their example both in public and private, to assist those who are endeavoring to stop the strong current of prejudice that flows so profusely against us at present. No longer ridicule their efforts, it will be counted for sin. For God makes use of feeble means sometimes, to bring about his most exalted purposes.[40]

With these words of farewell, Stewart left Boston, severing ties with the black community and white antislavery leaders for almost fifty years. She moved to New York, eventually joining the black Female Literary Society there.[41] The literary arts had always played a significant role in her life. In New York she became an active participant, as a beneficiary and as a contributor, in the literary society, while making arrangements to publish a collection of her Boston speeches and writings.[42]

Ironically, another of the *Liberator*'s regular black female contributors to the Ladies' Department made the acquaintance of Garrison through the actions of a black female literary society in Philadelphia. Interested in improving themselves intellectually, Sarah Mapps Douglass, a member of the well-known Bustill family, and a group of black women took the advice of Simeon Jocelyn, a white minister, to meet regularly at the group members' homes and to engage in activities suitable for "respectable colored females," including discussing antislavery.[43] In September 1831, they founded the Female Literary Society of Philadelphia, an organization whose objective was "the mental improvement of females." They organized "mental feasts" to share their knowledge and engage in moral and religious meditation, discussions, recitations, and lectures.[44] The preamble to the group's constitution vowed:

> Conscious that among the various pursuits that have engaged the attention of mankind in the different eras of the world, none have ever been considered by persons of judgment and penetration as superior to the cultivation of the intellectual powers; bestowed upon us by the God of nature; it therefore becomes a duty incumbent upon us as women, as daughters of a despised race, to use our utmost endeavors to enlighten the understanding, to cultivate the talents entrusted to our keeping, that by so doing, we may in a great measure, break down the strong barrier of prejudice, and raise ourselves to an equality with those of our fellow beings, who differ from us in complexion, but who are with ourselves, children of one Eternal Parent, and by his immutable law, we are entitled to the same rights and privileges. . . .[45]

As the agent for the association, it was Douglass' task to contact *Liberator* publisher Garrison about publishing the constitution. Garrison responded enthusiastically to Douglass' query and offered his support to the association and to the movement. Recognizing an invaluable ally in the group of women, he wrote:

> The formation of this Society is a source of unspeakable satisfaction to my mind. 1st. It is a proof of the appreciation of knowledge by your sex. 2ndly. It is a concentration of mutual affection, of friendship and love, of moral influence, of intellectual strength, which, like a seven-fold cord, cannot easily be broken; and which is capable of changing the entire aspect of society. 3dly. Its effects upon the members of the association must tend to stir up in each breast not a vain ambition, but a laudable spirit of emulation, and to perpetuate and enlarge the desire for improvement. 4thly. It cannot fail to attract the attention and induce the imitation of your sex in other places. 5thly. It puts a new weapon into my hands to use against southern oppressors.[46]

Garrison encouraged the women's involvement in the reform movement, and he emphasized the folly of denying the significance of women's contributions in the development of the family and of society.

He contended that the elevation of the race depended upon the actions of women, who are committed to determining the destiny of "the rising generation."[47] He believed that it was the responsibility of the women "to train up the young mind" in principles that would dictate behavior in later years--"principles that influence the actions of the private citizen, the patriot, philanthropist, lawgivers, yea, presidents and kings."[48] At an address before the association, Garrison explained:

> My object at present is to call your attention to the necessity of improving the mental faculties, of exalting the moral powers, and of elevating yourselves to the station of rational, intelligent beings; accountable for the use made of the talents committed to your care.[49]

Because of the women's interest in writing, Garrison implored them to use the written word to express their positions on important concerns. He also urged the women to support those newspapers that were sympathetic to the cause of antislavery. He added:

> And lastly, I would remind you that an attention to your best interests will induce you to encourage those periodicals devoted to your cause; the Genius of Universal Emancipation and the Liberator, I allude to in particular, their editors are devoting their time and talents to your service, they have subjected themselves to many privations, and despised the reproach, the calumny, so liberally bestowed upon them by interested, calculating, designing men, they merit your patronage.[50]

From his meeting with the association in Philadelphia, Garrison developed an interest in the writings of several of the women, particularly Douglass. Upon his departure from Philadelphia, he brought back to New York several articles written by the women and encouraged them to continue to supply materials to appear in his paper in the "Ladies Department." He proposed to use the articles to set an example for other young black women who might be encouraged to present their thoughts for public perusal. He explained that he wanted "to commence their publication, not only for their merit, but in order to induce the colored ladies of other places to go and do likewise."[51]

Douglass was one of the first members to take advantage of Garrison's offer. She contributed several articles--dealing primarily with antislavery, moral values, and education--to the *Liberator* in 1832. Historians have pointed out two pseudonyms Douglass used to write her columns, "Zillah" and "Sophanisba." The writing style and tone, as well as the frequency of the articles' appearances, indicate that Douglass used both pseudonyms, and possibly others.[52]

Douglass' writings differed significantly from those of Maria Stewart. Her florid prose was reverent and refined in tone, utilizing none of the harsh and vehement phrasing that Stewart preferred, thereby avoiding the hostile receptions Stewart often endured. Her approach was positive, employing words of hope and contrasting sharply with Stewart's often negative and critical attitude. Unlike Stewart, Douglass also never challenged the authority and conduct of men, something in which Stewart often engaged with disasterous results.

Rather than attacking males for their unsuccessful actions in the antislavery movement, all Douglass' writings emphasized the role of women in bringing about changes necessary for the survival and advancement of women and of her race.[53] Douglass stressed the strength of a woman's influence and admonished the slaves to "[c]heer up--a few of the noblest and best of thy countrywomen have acknowledged that thou art their sister: the time of thy deliverance is nigh."[54] In another instance, Douglass depicted the nature of a "true woman" as one who endured harsh punishment from a cruel mistress for fear that her child would be punished if she retaliated. Douglass proclaimed:

> American Mothers! can you doubt that the slave feels as tenderly for her offspring as you do for yours? Do your hearts feel no throb of pity for her woes? Will you not raise your voices, and plead for her emancipation--her immediate emancipation![55]

Like many of the women of her time, Douglass envisioned emancipation as the result of unwavering religious devotion. She viewed religion and education as the answer to many problems that plagued black Americans. She wrote:

> I believe 'there is no part of the christian religion productive of more good than that of family worship, if performed with regularity and due solemnity.' O, lady, would that we might see all the families of our people so engaged! how would the sunshine of such an example disperse the mists of prejudice which surround us! Yes, religion and education would raise us to an equality with the fairest in our land.[56]

Douglass found solace in religion and believed that all blacks could do likewise. In acknowledging the persecution she realized that blacks were destined to endure, Douglass concluded that fortification against the tribulations would come from having experienced and survived the suffering. She prophesied:

> With the eye of faith, I pierce the veil of futurity, and I see our advocate, after having honorably borne the burden and heat of the day, sitting down peaceably by his 'ain fire-side.' ...I see black and white mingle together in social intercourse, without a shadow of disgust appearing on the countenance of either; no wailing is heard, no clanking chains; but the voice of peace and love and joy is wafted to my ear by every breeze. And what has wrought this mighty change? Religion, my sister; the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus; and such are its effects wherever it appears. Could I not thus look forward, I should indeed despair.[57]

Douglass also utilized character sketches of individuals exhibiting religious values to serve as role models for the black readers. In "A Leaf From My Scrapbook," she described the conduct in church of an old blind man who "though poor, had true riches, and that the love of God, the peace that passes understanding, was his stay."[58]

The primary individual in "Ella. A Sketch" welcomed the sabbath and reflected on her blessings. She later compared her more appealing situation to that of a slave woman who had been denied many of the advantages she had enjoyed, and she offered hope for the woman through faith. Douglass wrote:

> But while I thus repose, as under my own vine and fig tree, my heart is filled with sorrow for my enslaved sisters. The sabbath is no day of rest to the poor slave--she hears no hymn, no prayer, upon this holy morning. She has no bible in which to read the matchless love of Jesus. Alas! she has never been taught to read: no ray of light penetrates the darkness of her mental vision. Sister slave, fainting with toil and sickness in the burning sun, cheer up! Christ is near thee, even in thy heart![59]

Improving the "mental vision" was a major concern for Douglass. Descended from a long line of educators, she struggled to provide educational opportunities for black children whose families could not afford to pay for an education. Educating blacks so that they could assimilate into society provided the greatest benefit for the race, she believed.

Douglass promoted the pursuit of all types of knowledge, including a basic understanding of different races. Her written attacks on slavery took many forms--from the parables for the children to the outspoken essays, poems, and lectures for which she became widely known. Had the civil rights of blacks not been at issue, Douglass probably would have been content to concern herself with her teaching duties. However, she was appalled at the steady decline of rights for blacks, particularly in Pennsylvania, including a proposed bill to prohibit the migration of blacks and mulattos into the state and to force an exodus to Liberia for many of the black population already residing in the state. At the monthly "Mental Feast" of the Female Literary Society of

Philadelphia, one lady visitor was so moved by Douglass' address that she sent a copy to the *Liberator*. She described the meeting:

> Soon after all were quietly seated, a short address, prepared for the occasion, was read by the authoress, (Sarah Douglass,*) a copy of which is herewith sent: it speaks its own praise, therefore comment from me is unnecessary. . . . The precious covering which was spread around bespoke that divine goodness was near; and I am bound to believe that He graciously condescends to regard, in a very peculiar manner, the sincere attempts made by this greatly injured people to serve Him, the true and living God.[60]

Douglass' address emphasized the necessity of feeding the "never-dying minds" and of feeling "deep sympathy for our brethren and sisters, who are . . . held in bondage the most cruel and degrading--to make their cause our own!" When a bill was introduced in Pennsylvania that would require all blacks to carry permission passes from a white individual at all times, Douglass refused to stand by and watch the continuous erosion of blacks' civil rights.[61] Her attitude toward slavery and its abolition took a more active turn. She explained:

> One short year ago, how different were my feelings on the subject of slavery! It is true, the wail of the captive sometimes came to my ear in the midst of my happiness, and caused my heart to bleed for his wrongs; but, alas! the impression was as evanescent as the early cloud and morning dew. I had formed a little world of my own, and cared not to move beyond its precincts. But how was the scene changed when I beheld the oppressor lurking on the border of my own peaceful home! I saw his iron hand stretched forth to seize me as his prey, and the cause of the slave became my own. I started up, and with one mighty effort threw from me the lethargy which had covered me as a mantle for years; and determined, by the help of the Almighty, to use every exertion in my power to elevate the character of my wronged and neglected race.[62]

Douglass concluded her speech with a suggestion for the conduction of the remainder of the meeting. She suggested:

> . . . I would respectfully recommend that our mental feast should commence by reading a portion of the Holy Scriptures. A pause should succeed the reading for supplication. It is

> my wish that the reading and conversation should be altogether directed to the subject of slavery. The refreshment which may be offered to you for the body, will be of the most simple kind, that you may feel for those who have nothing to refresh body or mind.

It was probably Douglass' involvement with the antislavery movement and her interest in education that eventually began to curtail her writing pursuits. Like Stewart, Douglass' attention turned to other matters, as she became more involved in the antislavery cause by 1833.

Many black women provided copy for the Ladies' Department during the early 1830s, but none received the recognition or acclaim of the writings of Stewart and Douglass. However, their eloquence and skills touched the hearts and minds of many readers, as well as their editor. Garrison often praised the works of "Zelmire", whose religious tone and words of inspiration rivaled those of Douglass'. He once wrote that "...there are few young white ladies who can prepare an essay for the press with more accuracy in regard to orthography and punctuation, or written in a more beautiful hand, than the following, by a young colored lady."[63] In "Unnatural Distinction", Zelmire pointed out the folly of separate seating in houses of public worship. She directed the readers to go elsewhere rather than attend a church that discriminated against blacks. She explained:

> Shall we absent ourselves from the house of God? I would ask--is our heavenly Father confined to one place? Is He not present in every place? If we ask him, in sincerity, to be with us and bless us, we shall enjoy his presence at home while reading His Holy Word.[64]

"Ada" used poetry to express her feelings to her readers, usually depicting religious or philosophical topics. "A Mother's Grief" detailed the death of a widowed mother's only child, whose demise had left her grief-stricken and filled with sorrow.[65] "The Farewell" referred to the departure of a friend whom the main character feared would forget the "happy days" of their "friendship's early dream."[66] "Zoe" and "Bera" exchanged letters throughout the Ladies' Department columns, often about education and the antislavery cause. One "Zoe to Bera" letter addressed the need for more teachers willing to "sacrifice an interest altogether pecuniary" to contribute to a system of educating blacks that would benefit the entire community. The preceding letter "Bera to Zoe" had concluded that the black community demanded too much from teachers, who were forced to work for little or no pay.[67] "Z" utilized dialogue written almost like a play script, such as "A Conversation" in which a mulatto slave child confronts the master's young son about why the two children are identical, except for the color of the slave's skin.[68]

Despite the vast number of young black women who contributed to the columns of the Ladies' Department, Stewart was perhaps most remembered by Garrison and others because she was the first. While in Boston after the war, she established a reunion with Garrison, who encouraged her to bring out a new edition of her published works, many published in his Ladies' Department. The result was an 1879 revised edition that included letters from friends and a brief "biographical sketch" of Stewart.[69]

The letters were filled with praise of Stewart's past career and life. The most fervent was from Garrison, her friend of almost fifty years earlier. He fondly recalled her initial visit to his office in 1831 and lauded the accomplishments in her life. He wrote:

> Your whole adult life has been devoted to the noble task of educating and elevating your people, sympathizing with them in their affliction, and assisting them in their needs; and, though advanced in years, you are still animated with

> the spirit of your earlier life, and striving to do what in you lies to succor the outcast, reclaim the wanderer, and lift up the fallen....
>
> Cherishing the same respect for you that I had at the beginning, I remain your friend and well-wisher,
> Wm. Lloyd Garrison[70]

However, Garrison also received praised for his early activities toward encouraging black women to express themselves. His letter in Stewart's book included a letter he had received from black historian William C. Nell. Nell recalled:

> . . . my mind reverted to your [Garrison's] early and constant advocacy of women's equality. The seeds sown by you at a time when the public was indifferent have germinated, and now promise an abundant harvest. The fact of woman's equal participation in the lecture room, in the halls of science, and other departments hitherto monopolized by man, has become an every day occurrence. In the perilous years of '33-'35, a colored woman--Mrs. Maria W. Stewart--fired with a holy zeal to speak her sentiments on the improvement of colored Americans, encountered an opposition even from her Boston circle of friends, that would have dampened the ardor of most women. But your words of encouragement cheered her onwards, and her public lectures awakened an interest acknowledged and felt to this day.[71]

While Garrison deserves credit for establishing the Ladies' Department, the biggest debt of gratitude should go to Stewart, Douglass, and the other black women who had the courage to speak out when society disapproved of hearing women's voices in public. Their example gave black women the initiative to express themselves, freely and publicly, about ideas that had oppressed them as a race and as a sex. They pointed out that black women were urgently needed at a time when black men were politically silent. Yet, in so doing, their messages of education, religious virtues, and independence burdened black women with the responsibility of moving out of the homes and into the streets to assist in raising the black lifestyle to a level of equality and respect.

NOTES

[1] Shirley J. Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1992), 5.

[2] Dorothy Sterling (ed.), *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), xii.

[3] Bettina Aptheker, *Woman's Legacy: Essays on Race, Sex, and Class in American History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 15.

[4] Bert James Loewenberg and Ruth Bogin (eds.), *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life: Their Words, Their Thoughts, Their Feelings* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1976), 24.

[5] See, Carter R. Bryan, "Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," *Journalism Monographs* 12 (Sept. 1969): 30.

[6] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988), 165.

[7] *Liberator*, Boston, MA, 17 November 1832.

[8] Marilyn Richardson (ed.), *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

[9] Richardson, 5-6; Sterling, 153.

[10] Stewart, *Religion.*

[11] William Lloyd Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison: The Story of His Life Told By His Children* (New York: Century Press, 1885), 220-221.

[12] Maria W. Stewart, *Meditations From the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart (Widow of the late James W. Stewart), Now Matron of the Freedman's Hospital, and Presented in 1832 to the First African Baptist Church and Society of Boston, Mass., First Published by W. Lloyd Garrison and Knap, Now Most Especially Dedicated to the Church Militant of Washington, D.C.* (Washington, DC: Enterprise Publishing Co., 1879).

[13] *Liberator*, 8 October 1831.

[14] *Liberator*, 7 January 1832.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Stewart, *Religion*.

[20] *Liberator*, 17 March 1832.

[21] Ibid, 7 January 1832.

[22] *Liberator*, 28 April 1832.

[23] Ibid.

[24] See Giddings.

[25] *Liberator*, 5 May 1832.

[26] According to Richardson and Giddings, this appearance bestowed upon Stewart the honor of being the first American-born woman to give a public address.

[27] *Liberator*, 17 November 1832.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] *Liberator*, 30 June 1832.

[32] *Liberator*, 14 July 1832.

[33] *Liberator*, 27 April 1833. The essay was also delivered at the African Masonic Hall in Boston, on February 27, 1833.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Richardson, xvi.

[42] Loewenberg and Bogin, 184. The works were collected under the title, *Productions of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart, Presented to the First African Baptist Church & Society, of the City of Boston* (Boston: Friends of Freedom and Virtue, 1835).

[43] Ibid, 62.

[44] *Liberator* (Boston), 21 July 1832.

[45] *Liberator*, 3 December 1831.

[46] William L. Garrison to Sarah Mapps Douglass, March 5, 1832. Walter M. Merrill (ed.), *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. I, 1822-1835* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 143-145.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Liberator*, 9 June 1832.

[49] Ibid.

[50] *Liberator* , 9 June 1832.

[51] *Liberator*, 30 June 1832.

[52] Note: A footnote from Garrison in the July 21, 1832, issue of the *Liberator* thanks Douglass for contributing "several original and truly beautiful articles which have appeared in the Ladies' Department." At the time of the printing, only one article had appeared with the signature of "Sophanisba" and one by "Zillah." (Another by Zillah appeared in the Juvenile Department of the July 21 issue.) This lends credence to the idea that Douglass used more than one pseudonym. For purposes of this study, articles written by "Zillah" and "Sophanisba" have been examined, although it is likely that Douglass used other pseudonyms in addition to these. See, for example, Sterling, 112; C. Peter Ripley (ed.), *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol. III, The United States, 1830-1846* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 118; Jean Fagan Yellin and Cynthia D. Bond, *The Pen Is Ours: A Listing of Writings by and about African-American Women before 1910 With Secondary Bibliography to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 252.

[53] See, for example, a letter from Sarah M. Grimke, Brookline, MA, to Sarah Douglass, Philadelphia, requesting Douglass to speak before a Bible class on a woman's right to preach and the necessity of ignoring the traditions of men. Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond (eds.), *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844, Vol. II* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934), 480.

[54] *Liberator*, 4 August 1832.

[55] *Liberator*, 28 July 1832.

[56] *Liberator*, 8 September 1832.

[57] *Liberator*, 30 June 1832.

[58] *Liberator*, 15 December 1832.

[59] *Liberator*, 4 August 1832.

[60] *Liberator*, 21 July 1832. The asterisk in the quote indicated an editor's note from Garrison, thanking Douglass for her many contributions to the paper.

[61] Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 126.

[62] Ibid.

[63] *Liberator*, 28 July 1832.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *Liberator*, 7 July 1832.

[66] *Liberator*, 30 June 1832.

[67] *Liberator*, 13 October, 8 September 1832.

[68] *Liberator*, 14 July 1832.

[69] Loewenberg and Bogin, 185.

[70] Stewart, *Meditations*.

[71] Ibid.

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Toward a Common Goal: Jean-Charles Houzeau, P.B.S. Pinchback and New Orleans' Black Press, 1862-1882.

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Toward a Common Goal: Jean-Charles Houzeau, P.B.S. Pinchback and New Orleans' Black Press, 1862-1882.

The surrender of New Orleans to Union forces barely a year into the Civil War gave an early boost to the black press in the city, which already boasted a substantial and educated free black population. The first black newspaper, *L'Union*, was established in the fall of 1862, but was shut down only two years later. In its place rose the *Tribune*, a biweekly which soon became the nation's first black daily. The *Tribune*'s first editor was Jean-Charles Houzeau, a white Belgian whom most people at the time, and many historians since, have mistakenly believed was black. When the *Tribune* failed after Houzeau left in a dispute over support of competing Republican gubernatorial candidates, it was replaced by the *Louisianian* in late 1870. The *Louisianian* was founded by P.B.S. Pinchback, a cunning and ambitious politician who served as both Lt. Governor and acting-Governor of Louisiana, the only black to ever hold those offices. Though Houzeau and Pinchback were vastly different in style, temperment, training and motive, each recognized the power of the press to advance the drive for equality among American blacks.

"Toward a Common Goal: Jean-Charles Houzeau, P.B.S. Pinchback and New Orleans' Black Press, 1862-1882."

Introduction

The long struggle for equality for blacks in the South got an early start when the city of New Orleans fell to Union naval forces on April 25, 1862. Barely more than a year after the shelling of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, the Union struck at the Confederacy's soft underbelly, capturing the rebels' leading Gulf port.[1] The victory opened a vital supply line into the Mississippi River Valley and hastened victories for the Union in the Western Campaign. Although the Confederacy hung on for nearly three more years, New Orleans remained firmly in Federal control, and the way was cleared for the black press to champion the rights of its people.

That the opportunity to spread the call for freedom arose in New Orleans was also serendipitous. Even before the liberation of New Orleans and the emancipation of the slave population the following year, Louisiana was home to a substantial free black population,[2] which was also well-educated and economically advanced. Many black families in southern Louisiana had already been free for three or more generations. Their status as freemen had been established as the result of living under the more enlightened French and Spanish systems in the 17th Century, which were more encouraging of manumission.

Although the professions and public offices were closed to blacks, they were astute businessmen and talented farmers and many amassed considerable wealth. This allowed them to bypass the public schools, which did not admit black children, and send their offspring to Europe for schooling.[3] Returning to America, they became adept managers of their families' business interests.

Part I: Jean-Charles Houzeau

Of naturally dark complexion, and a native Francophone, Jean-Charles Houzeau[4] blended easily into New Orleans' mixed-blood Creole population when he arrived in October 1857. Houzeau, however, was not black, but the oldest son of an aristocratic Belgian family. His background was anything but conservative, however. He became active in a secret movement opposed to Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, an association which cost him his job at the Belgian Royal Observatory and started him on his journeys.[5]

That first stay in New Orleans was brief, however, as he was on his way to the Texas prairie for field observations. A naturalist by training, Houzeau studied both animals and the stars. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Houzeau's scientific pursuits were gradually eclipsed by his involvement in the movement to help fugitive slaves escape to Mexico. As the Confederates cracked down on Texas' underground railroad, Houzeau himself was forced to flee south.[6]

With New Orleans safely under Union control, Houzeau returned in mid-January 1863. He stayed five months, beginning work on a book he was writing comparing the mental capabilities of humans and animals.[7] He left New Orleans in July 1863 and moved to Philadelphia to write his book and act as correspondent for a small French language newspaper founded by free blacks the previous September called *L'Union*.[8]

The newspaper had just begun to publish an English edition that month under editor Paul Trevigne, a native New Orleanian of modest circumstances[9] who later worked for two other prominent black journals, the *Louisianian* and *Le Crusader*.[10] Despite the promising events at *L'Union* in 1863, the paper ceased publication on July 19, 1864. Two days later, editor Trevigne appeared again at the helm of the *New Orleans Tribune*, a bilingual triweekly.[11]

The founder and financial backer of the *Tribune* was Dr. Louis Charles Roudanez, the son of a French merchant and a free black woman.[12] One of Roudanez's first actions was to contact Houzeau to offer him the position of the *Tribune*'s managing editor. Houzeau arrived in New Orleans on November 14, six weeks after the *Tribune* switched to daily publication.

Whether anyone knew that the editor of America's first black daily was a white European is not known, but there is ample evidence that historians have taken it on faith that he was black.[13] For its part, the *Tribune* never tipped its hand, either, even going so far to assure readers that it was "edited by men of color,"[14] and that it would never be "controlled by any white man."[15] Houzeau himself in fact let people think what they wished about his heritage. In his brief memoir, *Mon Passage a la* Tribune *de la Nouvelle-Orleans*,[16] Houzeau wrote that he "never sought to deny the rumor that I had African blood in my veins."[17]

Under Houzeau's direction, the *Tribune* stepped up its anti-slavery editorial drumbeat. Pressing for equality for all residents of the United States, Houzeau continued a theme he had begun writing about while in Philadelphia, trying to explain to European readers the "gross barbarianism"[18] of slavery in the southern United States.

One of the first tragedies Houzeau used to illustrate the inequitable treatment of blacks and whites accused of crimes was the case of one Michael Gleason, an Irish dockworker who had tossed a young black boy into the Mississippi River for fun.[19] Gleason was brought before an all-white jury, in accordance with the law. In a recent change, blacks were allowed to give evidence in the case, which they had not been permitted to do before. Gleason did not deny the charge, but the pro-slavery jury refused to convict and instead acquitted Gleason.[20]

In the same issue of the English edition of the *Tribune*, Houzeau wrote an editorial commentary headlined, "Is There Any Justice for the Black?" The article discussed the constitutional guarantees of fair trial calmly but forcefully, and also presented the legal rationale of protection of society and the punishment of crime. Houzeau concluded that neither democratic ideal was safe if in a society composed of two races, one believed that it was destined to exert control over the other.[21]

School desegregation and an equal, quality education for all children was also another common theme of Houzeau's while at the *Tribune* and also among other black editors. Houzeau editorialized for school integration frequently, and in one issue wrote, "We have to make this community one nation and one people, where two nations and two people previously existed. We had better begin at the root, and first of all unite the children in the public schools."[22] Equality in all areas of daily life was also mentioned frequently, and at one point, Houzeau even went so far as to use a pean to equality as the *Tribune*'s motto in large type on the paper's masthead: "To Every Citizen His Rights: Universal Suffrage. Equality Before the Law. To Every Laborer His Due: An Equitable Salary and Weekly Payments. Eight Hours a Legal Day's Work."[23]

Politics were Houzeau's passion, however, and ultimately his undoing at the *Tribune*. As the Civil War reached the halfway point of its third year, it became clear to Houzeau that the end was drawing near. He withdrew from some of the everyday squabbles that filled the pages of the city's newspapers and devoted himself to putting together the *Tribune*'s position to the issues of Reconstruction in Louisiana.

One of Houzeau's most common targets was president Abraham Lincoln, whom he attacked for his "tame, vacillating, halting policy."[24] Houzeau called the plan of Reconstruction after the war, as directed by Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks a "complete failure."[25] The situation worsened after the *Tribune*'s candidate for Governor lost the nomination by two votes to the carpetbagger Henry Clay Warmoth[26] who had chosen a former barber and the son of an ex-slave as his running mate. Roudanez, the owner of the *Tribune*, refused to support Warmoth, but instead prevailed upon two former slaveowners to run on an independent ticket.[27] This was even worse than Warmoth, in Houzeau's view, whom he felt morally bound to support since he was the party's nominee.

Houzeau's resignation from the *Tribune* on January 18, 1868 was soon proven to be the beginning of the end for the newspaper. Within two weeks of Roudanez's refusal to support the Republican party's candidate, party leaders dropped the *Tribune* as the official state party publication. They threw their support, and advertising dollars, to the loyal and pro-Warmoth *New Orleans Republican*.[28] Declining revenues and the lack of Houzeau's editorial skills worked a serious hardship on Roudanez over the next ten weeks. The *coup de grace* came with the landslide election in mid-April of Warmoth. Within ten days, the *Tribune* shut its doors, and even the lily-white *Picayune* lamented the loss: "We record with regret the fact that the New Orleans *Tribune*, the only newspaper both owned and edited by colored people in the South, and the only daily thus conducted in the whole Union, has been compelled to suspend publication for want of support."[29]

Houzeau left New Orleans for Jamaica within a few weeks. Roudanez did not give up easily, though, and revived the *Tribune* sometime later that year and continued to publish it sporadically until sometime in 1871.[30]

In Jamaica, Houzeau went to work on the book he had laid aside in 1864 to edit the *Tribune*, completing the second volume of his *Etudes*[31] sometime around 1870. At about this time Houzeau also completed *Mon Passage*, the work about his New Orleans years.[32]

Part II: P.B.S. Pinchback

With the *Tribune* in its death throes in late 1870, a new black newspaper sprang upon the scene to fill the void. The *Louisianian* made its debut on Sunday, December 18, 1870 as a biweekly broadsheet. The primary backer of the paper was state Senator P.B.S. Pinchback, the son of a Virginia planter and a slave. Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback had been freed with his mother on his father's death and later served in the Union Army before settling in New Orleans.

In New Orleans, Pinchback proved to be a shrewd businessman, and apparently made a large sum of money as a money-lender and business agent.[33] The businessmen's office also doubled as the *Louisianian*'s editorial and printing office, where job printing was also promised to be "executed with neatness and dispatch."[34] At five cents per copy of the six-column, four-page journal, the *Louisianian* was priced to sell on the streets rather than by annual subscription, which was five dollars. Eight-line classifieds were also offered at $1.50 for the first insertion and 75 cents for subsequent insertions.

Pinchback and his editor, William G. Brown, made their politics clear in that inaugural issue. The flag bore the newspaper's motto in 12-point type: "Republican at All Times, and Under All Circumstances." Pinchback also set out his political stance in the first column of the front page:

> Prospectus of the *Louisianian*
>
> In the endeavor to establish another Republican journal in New Orleans, the proprietors of the LOUISIANIAN propose to fill a necessity which has been long, and sometimes painfully felt to exist. In the transition state of our people in their struggling efforts to attain that position in The Body Politic, which we conceive to be their due, it is regarded that much information, guidance, encouragement, counsel and reproof have been lost, in consequence of the lack of a medium, through which these deficiencies might be supplied. We shall strive to make the LOUISIANIAN a *desideratum* in these respects.
>
> POLICY
>
> As our motto indicates, the LOUISIANIAN shall be *Republican at all times and under all circumstances.* We shall advocate the security and enjoyment of

> broad civil liberty, the absolute equality of all men before the law, and an impartial distribution of honor and patronage to those who merit them. Believing that there can be no true liberty without the supremacy of law, we shall urge a strict and undiscriminating administration of justice.
>
> TAXATION
>
> We shall support the doctrine of an equitable system of taxation among all classes.
>
> EDUCATION
>
> We shall sustain the carrying out of the promises of the act establishing our common system and urge as a paramount duty the education of our youth, as vitally connected to their own enlightenment and the security and durability of a Republican Government.[35]

Other items on the front page of that first issue included news from the caucus of Republican senators in Washington, D.C. on December 6, and a morality tale headlined "Told by an Octoroon." The story was a first-person account of a fair-skinned, blonde haired young woman, the daughter of a slave owner and one of his slaves, who had been manumitted on her father's death and sent to study at an Ohio seminary. Completing her studies, she went to New Orleans as an educated Northerner to work as a tutor and governess. In New Orleans, she discovered that the fact that her "Negro blood" was unknown allowed her to be judged on her merits, and thus she prospered in her profession.[36] Although simply speculation, it appears to not be too much of a stretch of the imagination to see an uncanny resemblance between the Octoroon's background and Pinchback's own.

Enough news to fill four pages was hard to come by in that first issue, so page two reprinted the *Louisianian*'s Prospectus and the four display ads from page one. Prominent play, however, was also given to a greeting to the city headlined "Our Salutatory:"

> "In seeking association with Knights of the Quill, we realize the manifold difficulties and perplexities that accompany such a move. We shall at all times endeavor to secure that position among metropolitan journals that our appearance will be looked for, and the LOUISIANIAN sought after.
>
> We propose then fully and freely to express our opinions on the various important topics which shall from time to time present themselves, and in our discussions of public measures, and the conduct of public men, we will endeavor as far as possible to divest our minds of fear favor or affection." [37]

Attacking Democrats at every opportunity was a staple of the *Louisianian* and Pinchback's style generally. On the back page of the inaugural issue was an attack of the Democratic party's alleged embrace of the result in the Dred Scott case.[38] Headlined "Negro Suffrage and the Dred Scott Case," the *Louisianian* charged that the racism embodied in the Supreme Court's decision was synonymous with the Democratic party. "Although a judicial utterance," Pinchback thundered, "no one will deny that it has acquired all the force and effect of a party principle."[39]

The *Louisianian* also turned to helpful hints and other filler material when copy ran short and important pieces had already been printed more than once. Whether the following "beauty tip" was offered with tongue-in-cheek cannot be even guessed at, but for whatever reason, did pass Pinchback's editorial scrutiny:

> It is said that if a woman would paint the skin of the face at the corners of the eyes for a small space, shading off in the direction of the ear, it would give a languishing softness to the countenance, and make the greatest of shrews look lovely, mild and meek.[40]

In what was to become a regular feature during the first two months of the *Louisianian*'s life, the second issue printed editor Brown's reflections on the difficulty encountered in getting the first issue out. Brown wrote that at dawn on the 18th, the paper was not finished, but with "the resolution that our vocabulary contained no such word as 'cannot,' we were determined to get it out, and we did."[41] Brown then reported that the staff retired to Pinchback's house for a celebratory meal with their leader and the paper's other backers.

The appearance of the *Louisianian* had apparently caused quite a stir on the streets of the city, and been the cause of much discussion. So much so, in fact, that the editors felt compelled "to correct the false impression . . . that we are about to conduct our journal exclusively in the interest of the colored man. We beg once and for all, distinctly and emphatically, to denounce and repudiate such imputation." Brown reiterated the *Louisianian*'s purpose of promoting Republicanism, but added, "If our advocacy of equal civil and political rights, justice and fair representation inure incidentally more to the advancement of the colored man," it was purely unintentional. "Actually," he continued, "we know of hardly any interest, that under existing circumstances, can be justly said to exclusively belong to the colored man."[42]

Other items of interest appearing in those early issues included an advertisement for the Louisiana State Lottery Co., organized on Aug. 17, 1868, which promised 440 winners $280,450 in prizes, with a $50,000 grand prize.[43] The third page contained a thinly disguised ad for the National Labor Union, warning, "we advise you first, to immediately organize, because labor can only protect itself when organized. In a word, without organization, you stand in danger of being exterminated."[44]

Henry Ward Beecher was a new advertiser for the third issue, placing a notice soliciting subscribers to his newspaper, *The Christian Union*, a 16-page, weekly, "thoroughgoing family newspaper." The Lottery advertisement also reappeared, this time filling two columns.[45]

As the official Republican party journal at this point, in early 1871 the *Louisianian* began to run long political statements, such as a message to the state legislature from Gov. H.C. Warmoth.[46] The newspaper also began to run news items from outside New Orleans. Buried at the bottom of page two Brown experimented with foreign news, reporting in a terse 39 words the beginning of the shelling of Paris by German artillery at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War.

Below that was an account of the sinking of the steamer *Saginaw* off the Hawaiian Islands.[47] The editors also aimed to educate in their columns as well. A scientific description of the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean likened the Continental Shelf to a long mountainside. "Its appearance, if drained, would be that of a road which would go downhill for 200 miles."[48]

After establishing itself as a permanent member of the New Orleans journalistic community, the *Louisianian*'s editorials appeared more regularly and pushed for redress of specific injustices against blacks. One proposed government-sponsored life insurance for the protection of widows and orphans, describing insurance as a "great practical remedy" to the poverty of Louisiana.[49] Brown's editorials also railed against "colorphobia," illustrated by examples of black women forced to sleep on the deck of coastal steamships even though they could afford and were willing to pay for a cabin, which then remained empty. While on deck, the editorial complained, the women were subjected to uncouth whites in addition to the normal hazards of travel. The editorial concluded with a demand for "a federal enactment to give us our rights in public places and conveyances."[50]

The *Louisianian* also clamored for increased immigration to supplement the labor force, which had been diminished by the elimination of slavery. "With the death of the institution that created the large landed estates of the South, comes the sore need of immigration from every quarter, and especially from Europe, the everstocked beehive of human industry." Engaging in a bit of racism of its own, the paper recommended an increase in German and Scandinavian immigration -- "the most desirable class of immigrants."[51]

During one particularly heated political fight, the New Orleans *Times* attacked Pinchback for a resolution he had political friends introduce before Congress which would have required the state legislature to repeal political disabilities stemming from loyalty to the Confederacy during the Civil War. The editorial had haughtily explained the action saying, "Pinchback, the colored member of the Senate [introduced] a scheme to Africanize the government of this state."[52] The *Times* also accused Pinchback of saying that blacks weren't concerned with the political consequences of the Civil War and that they had been only uninterested spectators. Admirably restrained, Pinchback replied that more than 200,000 blacks had served in the Federal army, including himself, and wrote, "We most emphatically deny the assertion that the war was waged for the purpose of emancipating the Negroes, and history will sustain our position; the war was for the Union."[53]

By early 1871, Ku Klux Klan activity had reached crisis proportions in many parts of the South, and the *Louisianian* raised its editorial voice for government intervention against the lawlessness. Applauding the recent arrival of federal troops in South Carolina to protect black property, the paper used the occasion to push for effective police:

> It is becoming more and more apparent that however opposed the loyal lovers of State Constitutional Rights may be to national interference in the conduct of the affairs in any of the States, circumstances of so grave and momentous a character are taking place in many of them, that there is no alternative left, but to invoke the powerful arm of national strength and vitality for peace and order. We approve of State Rights, but the State has no right to neglect the establishment of a competent and effective police system.[54]

Later that summer, the *Louisianian* ran a short editorial in praise of the service of an black jury which had convicted several criminals. It recounted the facts of the situation, explaining that the defendants' counsel had sought an all-black jury, thinking that he could sway them more easily. The ploy was unsuccessful, and the piece concluded, "We congratulate these colored men on their fidelity to their convictions as well as upon their ability to break through the meshes of sophistry so ingeniously woven, and to detect the facts so skillfully perverted by the able Attorney whose misfortune it was to stand for a while between these criminals and the gallows."[55]

Seeking to reinforce its position as an organ of the black community, the *Louisianian* made a subtle but telling change to its front page masthead in its 46th issue. The original masthead informed readers that "the *Louisianian* is published every Thursday and Sunday. . . " but this was changed to "The *Louisianian*, owned, edited and managed by colored men, is published every Thursday and Sunday morning.

. . ."[56] but this was moved inside to page two some seven months later.[57]

According to one scholar, Pinchback had a falling out with his partner C.C. Antoine in August, 1871 over the proceeds of a questionable land deal they were involved in while Pinchback was a city park commissioner.[58] Four months later, Pinchback was elected Lt. Governor of Louisiana, a post he held for 11 months before spending five weeks as acting Governor.[59] The spat over the soured land deal led to Antoine's withdrawal from the *Louisianian*, which was announced in the same edition that advised readers that the paper was switching to Saturday weekly publication.[60] Subscription prices were also halved, but the single-copy price remained at a nickel.

Perhaps distracted by his political career, which included election to both houses of Congress in 1874, the *Louisianian* lost its fiery, crusading spirit. Pinchback never served in either the House or Senate as the result of political machinations. The Congressional House Committee on Elections investigated, but in the end, denied Pinchback either seat.[61] Pinchback's political career ended without fanfare, and sometime late that summer the *Louisianian* was sold, without notice in the paper itself.

In one of his last editorials in the *Louisianian*, Pinchback referred regretfully to the fact that it had been infighting among black Republicans had led to the demise of the *Tribune* a few years earlier. Pinchback had not expanded on the point being made with that statement, but it may have foreshadowed his departure from the New Orleans journalistic scene.[62]

The *Louisianian*'s new owners surfaced matter-of-factly on the masthead on Sept. 19, 1874. Henry A. Corbin was now the publisher and George T. Ruby the editor. Subscription prices had been slashed further, to two dollars a year.[63]

The top news story of the day, but still only making page two, was the Battle of Liberty Place, a skirmish along the Mississippi riverbank at the foot of Canal Street. As battles go -- especially with the Civil War still a recent memory -- the fighting in downtown New Orleans the previous Monday afternoon was a modest affair.

The battle, fought between members of the segregationist White League and the integrated Metropolitan Police, lasted about 15 minutes and left about 30 dead and well over 100 wounded before the police were driven off.[64] The League's victory set the stage for the removal of blacks from government posts and helped bring on the era of Jim Crow -- a period of segregation, lost voting rights for blacks and rural lynchings. At the same time, conservative white Louisianians with ties to the old Confederacy, had been living under northern military occupation which enforced a political system featuring vote-stealing, bribery and assorted graft among the northern carpetbagger Republicans ruling the state.

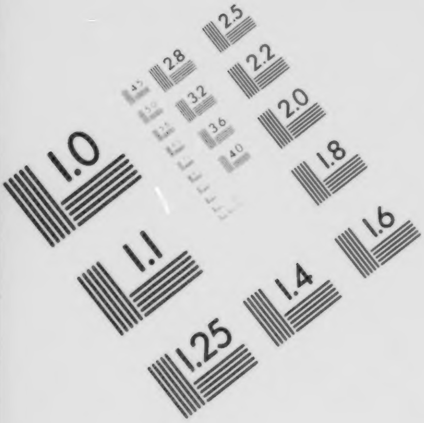
The *Louisianian* played the story straight for the most part, but concluded with a decidedly Republican twist. "To these high-handed acts has come a quietus. President Grant, mindful of his duty as the Nation's Executive, and impelled to rigorously uphold law, order and *loyalty to the Union*, issued a proclamation on Tuesday the 15th ordering federal troops to restore the legitimate (Republican) government."[65]

Despite the *Louisianian*'s devotion to the Republican cause and an uncommon commitment to what would later be seen as good journalism, by mid-1881 it was clear that the paper was dying. In a desperate move to boost cash flow, annual subscriptions, paid in advance, were cut to a dollar, though the street price stayed at five cents. Classified ads were also reduced to ten cents per line.[66]

That week also marked the inexplicable and unexplained inclusion of two columns in French on page two. Editor H.C.C. Astwood moved the French copy to page one the next week, and the week after that, all of page one, save the advertising, was in French.[67] The French copy was not fresh, however, but was simply a translation of what had appeared in English on inside pages the previous week.

Another sign of failing finances, the *Louisianian* moved from 644 Camp St., where it had been during Pinchback's last months of ownership, to 392 Bienville, in the French Quarter.[68] By the spring of 1882, it had moved again, to 102 Chartres, and the columns were filled with obituaries, marriage notices, church news, Masonic news and general gossip.

That summer, without warning, in Vol.12, no.26, editor William R. Boyd printed a brief notice announcing the end of publication of the *Louisianian* on page two. The "obit"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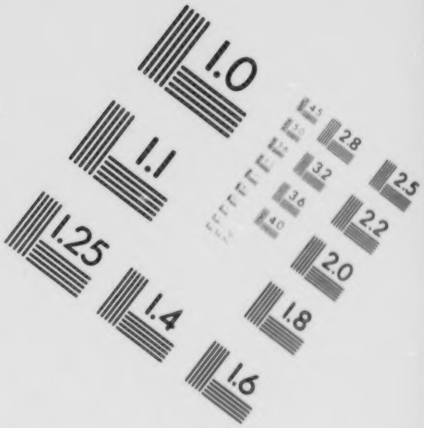
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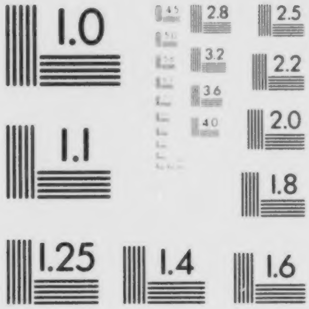
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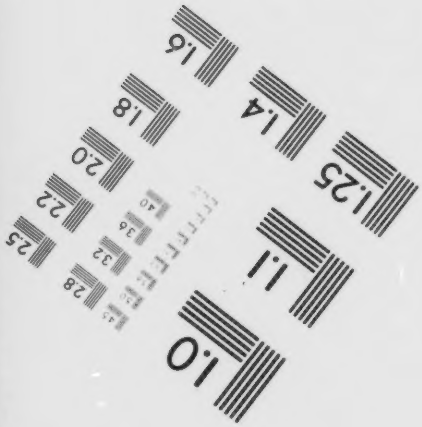
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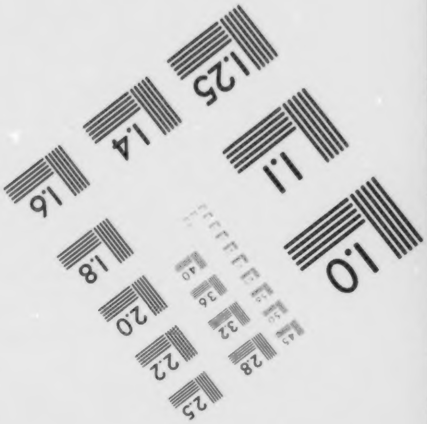
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stated simply that the presses had been sold to a new weekly, *The Protectionist*. There was no elaborate valedictory, but a brief note of thanks for readers' loyal support over the years. Page three that week was filled with Republican Club news and a brief farewell flourish:

> Au Revoir!
> In unity there is strength.
> Now for the common enemy!
> We unite under one banner and
> Proclaim ARTHUR for '84![69]

Pinchback had drifted away from active politics after leaving the *Louisianian*. He held a number of minor federal patronage positions in New Orleans, and in 1886, at the age of 49, he passed the bar examination. The family moved to New York in the early 1890s and eventually settled in Washington, D.C., where Pinchback wrote to friends and to the press. He could see the tide of white conservatism sweeping in again, which culminated in the 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*,[70] opening the way for the Jim Crow laws which took blacks' right to vote.

Pinchback's legacy is that of a man committed to the right of his people to participate equally in the American experiment in democratic self-government. However, not all, not even his family, remembered him as a selfless spokesman for his race. Pinchback's grandson, Jean Toomer, who he had raised after the boy's mother died, thought the old man more interested in self-aggrandizement. Toomer, who achieved some fame as a Harlem Renaissance poet in the early twentieth century, described his grandfather as a bold venturer.

"More than anything else, Pinchback saw himself as the winner of a dangerous game. He liked to play the game. He liked to win. This -- the reconstruction situation in Louisiana -- was the chance his personal ambition had been waiting for. He was not a reformer. He was not primarily a fighter for a general human cause. He was, or was soon to become, a politician. . ."[71]

Conclusion

As men, Houzeau and Pinchback could hardly have been less alike. Each believed fervently in their cause -- and their method. Houzeau, the highly educated white Belgian intellectual, approached his campaign on behalf of disenfranchised blacks with the missionary zeal of the newly converted, which in fact, he was. The mental force he brought to bear on the problems confronting blacks in the South itself advanced their position. His goal at least partially reached, he was content to leave the scene quietly.

Pinchback, the self-educated quadroon, was a cunning politician who used his polish and his race to advance his own cause as much or more than that of his fellows. Pinchback was not one to object if a rising tide lifted all boats, and he was certainly ready to take credit for it when it did.

Both men were highly literate, and extremely well-read. A thorough understanding of the power of the printed word led both to channel their abilities as leaders through newspapers for black audiences, though neither earned more than a living wage from their journals. They did, however, use their talents, though propelled by divergent motives, to further the black fight for civil liberties during a tumultuous period in the history of black journalism in the American South.

ENDNOTES

1. For an excellent account of the capture of New Orleans, see John D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge: 1963), ch. 12.

2. The free black population in Louisiana in 1860 was 18,647; the majority of those persons (about 10,000), lived in New Orleans. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C.: 1864), 191.

3. For the accomplishments of the city's free blacks, see Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1952).

4. Houzeau's full name was Jean-Charles-Hippolyte-Joseph Houzeau de Lehaie.

5. *Popular Science Monthly*, XXXVIII (1891), 544-52.

6. Id.

7. Houzeau, *Etudes sur les facultes mentales des animaux comparees a celles de l'homme*, (2 vols.; Mons, Belgium, 1872).

8. *L'Union* had been founded as a biweekly on Sept. 27, 1862 and, prospering, moved to triweekly publication in less than three months, on Dec. 23.

9. Trevigne had been a language teacher in a Catholic charitable school, and at the time of the Civil War, owned property worth $500 in New Orleans. New Orleans Treasurer's Tax Register, 1861-62, p.81, City Archives, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

10. The *Louisianian* published from 1870 to 1882 (see notes 34 and 69, *infra*). *Le Crusader* published from 1889 to 1896. Trevigne died in 1908.

11. On Oct. 4, 1864, the *Tribune* began publishing every day, becoming the nation's first black daily newspaper.

12. Record Book of Baptisms (1823), p.113, St. Michael's

Church. In Archives of the Diocese of Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Roudanez is listed as white in the baptismal records.

13. See, e.g., Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863-1877*, (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge: 1974).

14. *Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1865.

15. *Tribune*, Sept. 6, 1864.

16. Published in two parts, Houzeau, *Le Journal Noir, aux Etats-Unis, de 1863 a 1870*, Revue de Belgique, XI, May 15, 1872, 5-28, and June 15, 1872, 97-122.

17. *Le Journal Noir*, 8.

18. In *Question de l'esclavage*, (Brussels, 1863), 64. This tract appeared in Europe at about the same time as some of Houzeau's anti-slavery articles in the *Tribune*.

19. There is disagreement over the 13-year-old's name. The *Tribune* identified him as Joseph Hamilton (Dec. 15, 1864) while the *Picayune* (Dec. 13, 1864) identified him as Johnny Hamilton.

20. *Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1864.

21. Houzeau rebutted criticism of the editorial in the Dec. 20, 1864 edition of the *Tribune*.

22. *Tribune*, May 9, 1867.

23. *Tribune*, Dec. 30, 1866.

24. *Tribune*, Sept. 22, 1864.

25. *Tribune*, May 19, 1865.

26. Warmoth, a Lieutenant Colonel in an Illinois regiment, stayed in New Orleans after the war and was elected as a territorial delegate to Congress in 1865. He served as Governor for four years following his election in 1868 at the age of 26. See, Francis B. Harris, "Henry Clay Warmoth, Reconstruction Governor of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXX (1947), 523-654.

27. Wynona G. Mills, "James Govan Taliaferro: Louisiana Unionist and Scalawag," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1968), 1-52.

28. *Republican*, Jan. 31, 1868.

29. *Picayune*, Apr. 27, 1868.

30. Few issues after Houzeau's departure are know to exist. The majority are housed in the extensive newspaper collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. The latest issue in the collection is that dated Mar. 5, 1870, though the *Tribune* is believed to have published into 1871.

31. Note 7, *supra*.

32. Note 16, *supra*, and accompnaying text.

33. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870. An advertisement for "Pinchback & Antoine, Commission Merchants, 114 Carondelet" appears second of four similar display ads in the first column of the first issue.

34. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

35. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

36. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

37. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

38. *Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1857).

39. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

40. *Louisianian*, Dec. 18, 1870.

41. *Louisianian*, Dec. 22, 1870.

42. *Louisianian*, Dec. 22, 1870.

43. *Louisianian*, Dec. 22, 1870.

44. *Louisianian*, Dec. 22, 1870.

45. *Louisianian*, Dec. 25, 1870.

46. *Louisianian*, Jan. 15, 1871.

47. *Louisianian*, Jan. 15, 1871.

48. *Louisianian*, Jan. 22, 1871.

49. *Louisianian*, Jan. 15, 1871.

50. *Louisianian*, Jan. 19, 1871.

51. *Louisianian*, Jan. 22, 1871.

52. *Times*, Jan. 31, 1871.

53. *Louisianian*, Feb. 2, 1871.

54. *Louisianian*, Mar. 30, 1871.

55. *Louisianian*, June 22, 1871.

56. *Louisianian*, May 28, 1871.

57. *Louisianian*, Ddec. 24, 1871.

58. Agnes Smith Grosz, "The Political Career of P.B.S. Pinchback," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, (1944), 543-44.

59. Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868*, (New Orleans: 1918), 109.

60. *Louisianian*, Apr. 27, 1872.

61. Cong. Record, 43rd Congress, 2nd Session, 224,1696.

62. *Louisianian*, Aug. 29, 1874.

63. *Louisianian*, Sept. 19, 1874.

64. Warner, "Two sides, one story at Liberty Monument," New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Mar. 9, 1993, A1.

65. *Louisianian*, Sept. 19, 1874.

66. *Louisianian*, July 30, 1881.

67. *Louisianian*, July 30, Aug. 6, Aug. 13, 1881.

68. *Louisianian*, Aug. 13, 1881.

69. *Louisianian*, June 17, 1882.

70. 163 U.S. 357 (1896).

71. Darwin T. Turner (ed.), *The Wayward and the Seeking: A Collection of Writings by Jean Toomer*. (Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.: 1980), 25.

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A Voice for White Society: The Role of *The Virginia Gazette* During School Integration

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Recalling the pervasive attitude during the 1960s of whites towards blacks in Williamsburg, Virginia, former black teacher Madeline Gee said, "The idea over the years has been that black schools weren't as good as white schools and that black teachers couldn't teach . . . But Bruton Heights proved differently right here in this town. It's just that nobody bothered to come over and look."[1] The fact that whites ignored the successes of black schools such as Bruton Heights is not surprising considering that segregated schools functioned as an extension of a segregated society. Like many Southern towns of the era, Williamsburg was one community divided into two societies, one for whites and one for blacks. Personal interaction between whites and blacks did not occur very often.

When Evageline Davis arrived in Williamsburg in 1967 and took over as managing editor of The Virginia Gazette, the town's weekly newspaper, she hoped to make the newspaper more responsive to the community. A veteran journalist with twenty years of experience, she aspired to professional standards of objectivity. Her predecessors at the Gazette, like the members of the white society of which she now found herself a part, had consistently ignored blacks in the newspaper. In 1968, when both white and black societies faced the problem of integration and were forced to interact personally on a large scale for the first time, Davis had the opportunity to fulfill her newspaper's "mission" as a true community newspaper, representative of the voices of all Williamsburg citizens. But, faced with an unresponsive publisher, a news staff supposedly consisting of "housewives" and "college students," and a town firmly entrenched in a tradition of segregation, Davis failed to alter the newspaper's role as a voice for a closed white society.[2] Black views on integration appeared sparingly in the press, and the Gazette fell well short of fulfilling its responsibility as a community newspaper.

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[1] Claire Fortier, "Segregation Integration Eroded Education and Business," The Virginia Gazette 6 Feb. 1988: 1.

[2] Evageline Davis, personal interview, 21 Nov. 1992.

Perhaps the greatest test to the integrity of the American Union since the Civil War came in 1954 when the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public schools. Known as Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, the decision held that separate educational facilities for whites and blacks are "inherently unequal" and violate the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which provides all citizens with equal protection under the law. Writing for the unanimous court, Chief Justice Earl Warren said, "In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." By usurping individual state control over public education, the ruling effectively nullified many state constitutional provisions requiring or allowing segregation of white and black children in public schools. In a later 1955 ruling, the Court requested local courts to require "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the decision and said that local administration problems should be resolved "with all deliberate speed."[3] Southern states, of course, vehemently opposed the call to integrate. Viewing the call to integrate as an encroachment on their right to control the organization and administration of public schools, Virginia launched a program of "Massive Resistance" to the ruling and even considered the possibility of seceding from the Union. During the height of Virginia's campaign against compliance with the Supreme Court ruling, the State's General Assembly passed a series of statutes in 1956 and '57 requiring the governor to close any public school that was under court order to integrate and to cut off state funds to any school that moved to reopen in obedience to similar orders. By the fall of 1958 Virginia's "Massive Resistance" program resulted in the state shutdown of white schools in Norfolk, Front Royal (Warren County), and Charlottesville. Despite Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.'s continued staunch defiance of the Supreme Court ruling, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and a Norfolk federal court on January 19, 1959, struck down the state's school closing laws. With little fanfare or disorder twenty-one blacks entered various white public schools across the state on February 2, 1959.[4]

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[3] Ayers, Allan. Integration in the South (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1974) 283-84.

Full integration and the achievement of racial parity in public schools did not occur in many localities throughout Virginia until the late 1960s because courts had to decide on the constitutionality of school busing. Unlike many states both in the South and North where violence accompanied the process towards full integration, Virginia made the transition relatively smoothly. Between 1954 and 1970 when full integration became a reality in all of America, Virginia was the only state on the Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Massachusetts where the National Guard did not have to be called out to suppress disturbances associated with integration. With the exception of a few notable localities like Prince Edward County which refused to comply with the integration until 1963, integration was an uneventful, innocuous occurrence in most Virginia towns. Williamsburg functions as an interesting and easily manageable case study of how one Southern town came to terms and struggled with the issue of public school integration. The Virginia Gazette, the town's weekly publication and the nation's oldest newspaper founded in 1736, offers the only written chronicle of this process in Williamsburg. Since full integration was not realized in many public school districts in Virginia until fall 1968, the Gazette affords little reference to the issue until that year. As a result, this study will concentrate on the newspaper's treatment of the issue solely during the year 1968.

Writing in "The County Newspaper" the renowned editor and publisher of The Emporia Gazette William Allen White said, "The newspaper is more than the voice of the country-town spirit; the newspaper is in a measure of the will of the town . . . It is the bringing together of the threads of the town's life . . . that reveals us to ourselves"[5] In 1968 The Virginia Gazette was in an ideal position to fulfill a role as the "voice" and

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[4] Wilford Kale and Harry Smith, Davis Y. Paschall: A Study in Leadership, (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1990) 18-53.

[5] Sally Foreman Griffith, Home Town News: William Allen White and the *Emporia Gazette* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 182, 159.

"incarnation" of the spirit of Williamsburg.[6] While the Newport News, Va., Daily Press had a Williamsburg bureau, it functioned more as a regional newspaper, devoting the majority of its coverage to happenings in Norfolk, Hampton, and Richmond. The Virginia Gazette, on the other hand, devoted its pages primarily to coverage of events and issues concerning the 9,069 residents of Williamsburg City proper and the 17,853 residents of surrounding James City County. A broadsheet published every Friday, the post office delivered the newspaper to the Gazette's roughly 6,000 readers. Subscription rates ranged from $3.50 per year for area residents and $4.00 per year for all other persons within the continental United States. Various newsstands around the area also sold the Gazette for ten cents. Approximately twenty pages in length, the newspaper devoted the first page to a series of interesting and whimsical extracts from past Virginia Gazettes. The second page consisted primarily of "hard" news which continued on several interior pages. Editorials and Letters to the Editor composed the third page, sports covered the following two to four pages, and various feature articles were interspersed among the several succeeding pages. In addition to the "staples" such as obituaries and classifieds, the Gazette devoted considerable space to wedding announcements and especially its genealogy column. Many out-of-town readers supposedly subscribed to the Gazette because of these pages.

The staff in 1968 consisted of a montage of diverse persons, several of whom worked at the paper part-time. Publisher and editor-in-chief John Gravely III, son of a prominent Richmond businessman, had no prior experience in journalism before acquiring the newspaper in 1966. Managing editor Evageline Davis had previously worked for highly acclaimed editor Ralph McGill at The Atlanta Constitution as the nation's first female sports writer, a reporter for wire news services in China and Japan, and also writer for Harper's Review. She arrived in Williamsburg and began working for the paper in 1967 after her husband Burke Davis, an author and historian, assumed his new job as speech writer for Colonial Williamsburg President Humelsine. The remaining core of reporters, whom Davis described as an assortment of "inexperienced housewives" Gravely insisted on employing, included Barbara Ball and Tina Jeffrey. Ball, who had worked for a daily newspaper in Florida before coming to Williamsburg, wrote a variety of articles but only worked part-time in order to take care of her school-aged children. Although Jeffrey had previous journalism experience, she likewise worked at the Gazette part-time for the sake of her family. Stuart Spirn, a law student and former writer for the College of William and Mary student newspaper The Flat Hat, wrote sports and features full-time for the newspaper during the summer of 1968 and part-time during the school year. Virginia Rollings devoted her time solely to the genealogy and wedding pages. Various other personnel, including Ken Bradby, Harry Warr, and Elwood Bizell handled advertising sales, printing, circulation, and other administrative duties.

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[6] Griffith 159.

In addition to writing most of the editorials, Davis administered the news department. Citing insufficient personnel, she did not assign her reporters specific "beats," although Ball typically covered schools and Spirn reported on local sports. As a result, Davis assigned reporters specific stories as they "fell in her lap," Spirn said, and often allowed reporters to cover events they felt were newsworthy.[7] Partly because of a lack of reporters, Davis claims she was not able to cover the community as fully as it should have been. In a November 21, 1992, interview, she said publishing a weekly newspaper is in many respects more difficult than publishing a daily mainly because it does not have access to resources such as wire services. To accommodate space, the Gazette in 1968 often relied on news releases and stories already printed in earlier editions of The Daily Press. As much as twenty percent of the articles in the Gazette, especially stories concerning Colonial Williamsburg, were rewritten or verbatim news releases. An avid golfer but aloof publisher, Gravely exercised a *laissez-faire* approach to administering the newspaper. Both Davis and Spirn said Gravely used the paper as a "toy" and a pastime between golf rounds. Davis assumed many of his duties, but still was stymied by her boss: printing of the

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[7] Stuart Spirn, personal interview, 4 Jan. 1993.

Gazette, she complained, was often delayed because somebody had to find Gravely on the golf course. More importantly, Gravely's father often had to bail the newspaper out of debt because advertising revenues were not consistently collected. Meanwhile, in her capacity as managing editor Davis allowed her reporters a marked measure of autonomy. Spirn and Ball recall that she did not regularly require stories to be rewritten.

Much like White at The Emporia Gazette, Davis assigned and wrote stories which chronicled the "doings of friends," namely the newspaper's white readers in Williamsburg.[8] In many ways, White's experience in covering the black community in Emporia, Kansas, offers a striking similarity to how Davis covered blacks in The Virginia Gazette. Described by author Sally Griffith in Home Town News as the spokesman for a particular way of life, editors of small community newspapers knew they must respond to the interests of readers to sell their product. In this way, editors White and Davis fashioned their respective newspapers to address the interests and concerns of their readership, almost exclusively white. For White, the unequal treatment of racial minorities in The Emporia Gazette stemmed from his inability to reconcile blacks with his vision of community. Set on drawing new business to the town by "boosting" Emporia's reputation and image in the newspaper, White believed creating a sense of an homogeneous community was essential; covering blacks in the newspaper imperiled this campaign. As a result, in news articles White nearly always differentiated blacks from their fellow townspeople. Creating a false sense of homogeneity through the exclusion of blacks, White reflected the way white Emporia tried to keep blacks out of sight and out of mind.[9]

The pattern of stories, people, and issues covered during 1968 as well as the testimony of former editors and writers at the Gazette reveals a similar marginalization of blacks in the newspaper as well as an unmistakable desire to cater to the interests of whites. During this period, Williamsburg City proper consisted of 7,867 white residents and 1,156

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[8] Griffith 162.
[9] Griffith 175.

black residents. James City County, on the other hand, was comprised of 11,547 whites and 6,226 blacks.[10] According to Davis, Williamsburg was the epitome of white Southern culture. "This town was really the old-time, old-fashioned South," she says. "Black housekeepers often came with homes in the city and it was common for a black nanny to raise many white children."[11] A fully integrated enterprise, at least on the surface, even before the public schools were integrated, Colonial Williamsburg employed a majority of blacks in the community. Blacks typically worked in manual labor jobs while most whites worked in administrative positions. As a result, personal interaction between the races was kept to a minimum. Moreover, despite blacks comprising nearly thirty percent of the population, Davis said whites "did not give a thought to them" before integration.[12] As managing editor of the Gazette, Davis knew she was doing the same but pled necessity as her excuse. "I regretted that when I saw blacks on the streets or at the drug store where I ate lunch that I couldn't find out what these people were doing at other times," Davis said. "But there was just no way to get an avenue into the black community to find out what was going on."[13] She added that she knew very few blacks personally. Echoing this sentiment, Spirn said he had no motivation to cover a segment of the community where he thought he was not welcomed.[14]

While admitting that she did not afford the black community equal coverage during integration, Davis claims that the Gazette's reporting was objective and not biased against blacks. "Ralph McGill taught me that when writing news, I must act as I'm in the grandstand at a stadium and report exactly what I see," Davis said. "I hate any news story where opinion comes through."[15] As a member of white Williamsburg society, however, Davis' personal association with many of the persons the Gazette covered invariably straitjacketed her ability to cover the community in a balanced fashion. Amalgamating all whites or blacks in Williamsburg in two general categories called white and black society may not be fair to those who did not consider themselves specifically aligned with either society. However, taking into account that Williamsburg in 1968 served as the quintessential Southern community where the races were distinctly stratified and also that Davis used the labels herself during the personal interview, making such a generalization is necessary to understand how the Gazette functioned in the community.

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[10] Center for Public Information, University of Virginia, 1970 United States Census Bureau figure.
[11] Davis, personal interview.
[12] Davis, personal interview.
[13] Davis, personal interview.
[14] Spirn, personal interview.
[15] Davis, personal interview.

Because Davis was an active member of white society, her personal associations markedly curtailed her willingness as an editor "to take on" persons in positions of power such as members of the Williamsburg City Council, James City County Board of Supervisors, Colonial Williamsburg Board of Directors, Public School Board or the vast majority of business owners in the community.[16] Therefore, in tacitly accepting the Gazette's role as a voice for white Williamsburg, which included the majority of the newspaper's readers, Davis conferred a virtually invisible status on blacks. Moreover, the fact that only five to ten percent of the newspaper's readership consisted of blacks and few black businesses advertised in the Gazette affirms sociologist Michael Schudson's conviction that newspapers are directly dependent on market forces. Newspapers, in this sense, appealed directly to "popular opinion."[17] As the printed record of coverage afforded to public school integration will illustrate, the Gazette partly did not report on blacks in a balanced fashion because many of its white subscribers likely did not expect or want it.

True to Davis' observation that whites essentially ignored blacks before integration, the Gazette rarely mentioned them before 1968. However, with full public school integration looming on the horizon, white Williamsburg was now forced to acknowledge the other thirty percent of the community. Davis believed a majority of whites in

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[16] Davis, personal interview.

[17] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978) 9.

Williamsburg were opposed to integration. The Gazette did not report any specific figure, but some parents pulled their children out of the public schools before the integrated system opened in September 1968. Despite popular local opposition to integration, Davis said that local government and the school board were committed to a peaceful transition.[18] Without incident at least one black had already enrolled in the white high school James Blair in 1966. Five months before the realization of an integrated school system the Gazette began covering the story and the transition process.

Between March 1, 1968 and Dec. 13, 1968, the weekly publication printed ten straight news stories and two editorials either related to or partially addressing integration. An examination of the manner in which the stories were reported and written reveals a characteristic exclusion of black views as well as a tone biased against them. In only three of the twelve articles are black citizens directly quoted or referred to, and practically all sources of information are drawn from white officials. Obviously, since whites held an exclusive monopoly over the local power positions, they necessarily served as the spokesmen for the community. Overt opinion is not plainly apparent in these articles, but Davis' claim that she and her staff presented news of integration objectively cannot be reconciled with the slanted view of reality offered in the articles. Before evidence can be presented to substantiate this assertion, a framework through which the objectivity of these articles can be appraised must be delineated.

In his 1978 study Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers Michael Schudson contends objectivity is more an ideal than a realistically attainable practice in journalism. An "uninsulated profession" in terms of its ability to assess news in an unbiased manner, journalism is markedly constrained by market forces and the associated necessity to appeal directly to popular opinion.[19] Schudson suggests crusading newspapers, at odds with popular consensus, were rare in the 1960s because editors believed they could not survive in the marketplace. As "business corporations" newspapers are required to align themselves with public opinion in order to stay financially sound.[20] In this way, newspapers cannot be objective if they are forced to stay within market-defined boundaries of coverage, reporting, and writing. For a local newspaper, such as The Virginia Gazette, its Southern white subscribers defined these boundaries of accepted coverage. Since Davis and her all-white staff adhered to the social norm of little, if any contact, with black society, they did not afford it coverage. "The slant of journalism lay not in explicit bias," Schudson says, "but in the social structure of news gathering which reinforced official viewpoints of social reality."[21] White society determined the Gazette's "social structure" through its political, economic, and social control over blacks. Recognizing a segregated community dominated by whites, the newspaper mirrored this division through its biased coverage; a segregated society produced segregated news. By acting in "collusion" with the white society, the Gazette "reproduced a vision of social reality" in Williamsburg: whites held power over local society and relegated blacks to a marginalized role in the community.[22]

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[18] Davis, personal interview.
[19] Schudson 8.

Drawing upon the views of Paul Weaver and sociologist Gaye Tuchman, Schudson continues to explore the tenuousness of objectivity in journalism. He maintains that the content of a news story rests on a set of substantive political assumptions, a "mind-set" that determines the form an article assumes. Schudson says journalists never question the validity of these assumptions, which include a set of particular moral values, a belief in God, capitalism, or even racial segregation. As expressed in the typical news story, "political bias" includes descriptions generally of "conflicts" rather than "less dramatic happenings" and "events" rather than "processes." According to Weaver, this tendency results in news articles becoming stories of conflict from the exclusive point of view of those parties actively engaged in it.[23] In the twelve Gazette articles related to integration, the focus is almost always on whites who seemingly are the only active participants in the transition to integration, even though blacks were equally affected. The Gazette's underlying "political assumption" that integration affects whites the most is revealed by its consistent reference to white perspectives in the articles and avoidance of black views. A similar way objectivity is jeopardized relates to the actual process of news gathering. Schudson argues journalists "strait-jacket" themselves by consistently quoting "speakers in positions of recognized authority."[24] As mentioned, Davis and the Gazette staff drew their information from these sources not only because it was the easiest way to write many stories but, more importantly, because it adhered to the socially accepted bounds of coverage. In this way, the Gazette repeatedly constructed and reinforced a selective image of reality centered on information drawn from the viewpoints of those whites in positions of power.

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[20] Schudson 8.
[21] Schudson 162.
[22] Schudson 160.

The premise that the Gazette served as a "mere stenographer" for the white society's "transcript of social reality" is easily verified by the twelve Gazette articles on integration published in 1968.[25] Two articles published on September 20 and December 13 dealing with problems in the schools associated with integration particularly support this claim. The first article headlined "Brown Statement To Parents On Early Problems At Berkeley" appeared buried on page 11A, typically devoted to insignificant school-related news. The article is a verbatim recitation of Brown's statement and no byline appears on it. The Gazette opens the story with a description of when the statement was read and a sentence explaining why Brown chose to read from a written text "so there would be no danger that he would be misquoted."[26] While Davis cannot recall whether the Gazette had been criticized for misquoting school administration officials, the fact that Brown, a black principal, expressed concern over the possibility is notable and establishes a tone of distance between the Gazette and the main agent in the article. As selected excerpts will illustrate, the fact that the article and Brown's statement appeared in the paper at all is significant.

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[23] Schudson 184.
[24] Schudson 185.
[25] Schudson 185.
[26] "Brown Statement To Parents On Early Problems at Berkeley," Virginia Gazette 20 Sept. 1968: 11A.

> *Statement to Parents:* "We [the Berkeley administration] are quite aware and deeply concerned about the unpleasant situations at Berkeley during the opening of school. Each and every complaint brought to our attention was checked and doubled checked, but due to the absence of names or identifying descriptions, solution was felt to be minimal. It would have been an unhealthy feeling to brand and accuse an entire group for the actions of one or two.
>
> Upon further investigation and conference with others not involved, we learned that a mild case of "mass hysteria" was developing plus a desire to go elsewhere. This coupled with rumors and a tendency to prove pre-conceived intelligence of a school formerly designated as an all-Negro school is not a safe place to send children not in attendance before.
>
> There was one fight which occurred in two stages involving girls. This was caused because of name calling and obscene suggestion made with the hand . . . we asked witnesses to identify some these persons [involved in the fight], the reply was, they could not for they (the Negroes) all looked alike."[27]

Brown goes on to explain how the Berkeley administration patrols the school to prevent such incidents and how it has "diagnosed the situation as social adjustment rather than racial."[28] Finally, he adds an anecdote about the visit of two James Blair students during the same week who told him that "the situation would improve as soon as the students at Berkeley accepted one another as human beings and not as something to be afraid of."[29]

Considering this article is the first reference the Gazette makes to observable problems associated with integration, it marks at least the beginning of an awareness among Gazette staff and perhaps the community of difficulties associated with the newly integrated schools. Nevertheless, despite its obvious significance to the community, the story is placed deep in the newspaper and no follow-up stories appear in future editions at all. The bland manner in which the article is composed similarly signals the Gazette's decision not to make the story a more significant issue than it apparently was. Relying almost solely on Brown's written statement, the newspaper offers no reaction at all from parents nor attempts to delve into the matter on its own. Davis, who admits she was aware of many problems associated with integration in the schools, claims she could not report on them because sources refused to be quoted.[30] To illustrate, at the elementary school Mathew Whaley, Davis learned that several teachers were threatening to quit because black students were urinating in classrooms. Brown's reference to "mass hysteria" and the "desire to go elsewhere" also touched upon the exodus of some white children from the public school system to several private schools before the fall 1968 semester commenced. One private school, Jamestown Academy, was started that year specifically as a white response to integration of the public schools. The Gazette did not report on this at all.

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[27] "Brown Statement" 11A.
[28] "Brown Statement" 11A.
[29] "Brown Statement" 11A.

The source of the information for the September 20 article coupled with its limited magnitude as a newsworthy crisis perhaps worked to keep it off the front page. The December 13 article, however, "Altercation Rocks James Blair High," appears prominently in that edition on page one. The headline in itself sparks an emotional reaction and places the event in a markedly stronger light than the earlier article. The passive voice lead, "In a fight which took place during a basketball game at James Blair High School Tuesday night two Negroes were cut with knives and hospitalized," plainly omits the person responsible for the action.[31] In the next two paragraphs, the injured blacks are identified by name but the person charged with the crime, a "white man," is not. The article continues to explain that "disturbances" followed during school on Wednesday morning apparently because, according to a deputy city sheriff, there was a misunderstanding on the part of some black students who felt authorities had done nothing about the previous night's assault. The article says "certain whites" may have touched off the altercation because they were angry over "an instance of interracial dating."[32] Although the story does not clearly associate the disturbance with integration, everyone was probably aware that James Blair was formerly an all-white high school. In a direct appeal to these persons, the unknown author of the article writes in the second to last paragraph, "On Wednesday a number of parents took their children out of school for the day. But this precaution seemed unnecessary."[33] Once again, the Gazette turned to whites in positions of power, in this case the all-white Williamsburg City Police, for its information on the James Blair disturbance while its concluding advise further attests to the newspaper's devotion to its white readers. Griffith claims in Home Town News that White exercised considerable influence over Emporia through his choice of events which received coverage and the way in which these happenings were described. "Through his choice of language," she writes, "White affected Emporians means of thinking about the events."[34] Without doubt, Davis' placement of this story on the front page with an emotionally provocative headline and a decidedly biased focus reaffirms the differential treatment afforded blacks both in the newspaper and in the community.

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[30] Davis, personal interview.

[31] "Altercation Rocks James Blair High," Virginia Gazette 13 Dec. 1968: 3A.

In recognizing the significance of integration to the community, both Davis and reporter Ball stressed that 1968 marked the formal beginning of social contact between whites and blacks. Prior to the opening of the fall 1968 school term, a series of school board meetings occurred to discuss a variety of issues associated with integration including the new distribution of white and black pupils as well as teachers to the various schools, state tuition grants for students to attend private schools, and the possible loss of students and teachers due to integration. In covering these meetings which took place from March 8 to May 24, the Gazette devoted four articles to these topics. The structure followed the characteristic pattern of substantial reliance on white school board members for sources of information. Reporter Ball, whose byline appears on three of the stories, recalled that she wrote the stories in an impartial manner and reported only what she witnessed. Although she herself had school-aged children in the Williamsburg-James City County public schools at the time, Ball insisted that she did not allow her personal views on integration to influence how she covered the Board meetings. "I believe that the reporter and the person are two different individuals," she said. "I did not allow personal biases to influence my reporting."[35]

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[32] "Altercation" 3A.
[33] "Altercation" 3A.
[34] Griffith 180-81.

Ball's first story describes the discussion which took place among school board members and citizens concerning "the reorganization of the schools to achieve an equal distribution of Negro and white pupils at each grade level."[36] According to the article, disagreement arose during the meeting over whether to implement Plan One or Plan Two regarding pupil distribution at the elementary level. (Since James Blair was designated the only high school and all students would be placed there together, no planning was necessary for complete integration in grades seven through twelve.) The final vote favored Plan One calling for an overall ratio in the four different elementary schools of fifty-five percent white and forty-five percent black. Ball's selection of the remarks of one particular school member to end the story particularly highlights the sense of relief following the conclusion of this meeting. "Integration," said Mrs. Whyte, "has hung over our heads like the sword of Damocles . . . this [vote] is the end of the problem."[37] The fact that a white school member described integration as a problem and the Gazette reported it helped reinforce the common negative view that whites had of desegregation.

While the main story detailing this meeting refers only to school board members, a sidebar headlined "They Were Saying" offers the views voiced by some of the 300 citizens who attended the meeting. Ball explained that she did not incorporate them into the main article because she believed they were more pointed when set off on their own.[38] A series of quotations, the side-bar proves most significant for it offers the first substantive look at community opinion on integration printed in the Gazette during 1968. Of the fifteen persons Ball quoted, four stand out for what they say, who they are, and how the reporter identifies them.

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[35] Barbara Ball, personal interview, 8 Jan. 1993.

[36] Barbara Ball, "School Boards Adopt Assignment Plan," Virginia Gazette 8 March 1968: 5A.

[37] Ball, "School Board Adopts Assignment Plan" 5A.

> *"You think you can avoid it (integration) but your children can't."* — a teacher from Berkeley High School.
> *"If you look under the surface you'll find it's the teachers who don't want to be integrated."*—Reverend Junius H. Moody.
> *"I would like to let parents know that students who come to this school whether they are white or Negro need not worry because teachers will view them not according to color but as students."*—Caleb Brown, principal at Berkeley High School.
> *"I have taught a 100 percent white class but I did not see color, I saw students."*—A Negro teacher.[39]

The first statement reflects what Davis described as the pervasive community opposition to integration; many white parents did not want their children attending integrated schools, but they could not avoid its inevitability. The second quotation points out the feeling among some citizens that a few teachers were opposed to integration because they did not want to leave their schools or teach black children. The two remaining statements function as assurances to white parents concerned that black teachers will not discriminate against their children in the classroom. Like all other articles related to integration, this account ignored the opinions of black parents. Clearly essential to a full understanding of how both the white and black communities responded to integration, these opinions and the issues raised are hardly explored in successive Gazette editions.

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[38] Ball, personal interview.
[39] Ball, "School Boards Adopt Assignment Plan" 5A.

Recollecting the setting of this and many other similar school board meetings, Ball said blacks regularly attended the meetings but often remained silent, likely a recognition of their "place."[40] Aside from Brown and Moody, a Baptist minister, who were reportedly among the few vocal blacks at these meetings, the Gazette rarely quoted other blacks in any of the twelve articles. In any event, Ball's identification of two of the speakers is particularly notable. Describing the person only as a "Negro teacher," Ball qualified the teacher by race because she said it was important at this meeting to show the views of both whites and blacks. Explaining why "a teacher from Berkeley High School" is not identified by race, Ball said it was assumed that a person quoted in an article was white unless indicated otherwise.[41] By identifying the teacher's race, Ball illustrates the Gazette's differentiation of blacks from whites. She also underscores the mind-set that influenced her coverage of the happening. Addressing the newspaper's white readers, Ball believed that they needed to know that a black teacher was voicing an opinion of direct concern to them. In a different way, the first marked appearance of black views on integration in the Gazette signaled a cursory acknowledgment of those 7,400 citizens in the community which the newspaper had long ignored.

Reporting on another school board meeting in the March 15 edition titled "School Boards Meet; Teacher Assignment Memo Questioned," Ball again recorded the views of some blacks (also identified by race and not name) but relies on white officials for most of her information. In a joint meeting of the Williamsburg-James City County school boards, board members and citizens discussed the plan for reassigning white and black teachers to the various elementary schools. According to the article, the criteria shaping the reassignment of the teachers included the professional needs at each school as well as racial balance. Ball writes that the Parent Teacher Association Council objected to the proposed plan at the meeting "on the grounds that full integration of faculties might not result." This opposition, a source Ball quotes in the article claims, has led to the resignation of "certain teachers."[42] The fact that some teachers decided to quit the school system because they opposed the Board's redistribution plan is significant. However, the Gazette, while falling short in gauging overall public opinion on integration, also falls short in providing any sense of the extent of teacher reaction to the proposed reassignment plan. Davis claimed teachers refused to be quoted. Nevertheless, Ball only quotes the comments of Dr. R.A. Johnston, president of the PTA Council, at the meeting. She failed to follow up on his views in its wake. Without fail, she covered the meeting with the mind-set that everything important will be publicly stated. Her complacency invariably eschews the significance of the dissatisfaction of some teachers, both white and black, with the transition to integrated schools.

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[40] Ball, personal interview.

[41] Ball, personal interview.

In later Gazettes, specifically the March 22 and May 3 editions, the newspaper similarly avoids investigating teacher antagonism to integration to any depth. The first article, titled "Turnover of Teachers Expected To Be No Heavier, Says Wheeling," is also written by Ball. She quotes the director of personnel for the school system as predicting "no heavier than usual turnover of teachers because of the re-assignment of pupils."[43] Ball stresses Wheeling's conviction that too much emphasis had been given to teacher dissatisfaction with integration. "I think that most teachers are professionally-minded and realize the duty and need to educate all children of the area," Wheeling said.[44] Once again, Wheeling's comments hide a meaningful issue which the Gazette neglects to explore, namely the extent of teacher dissatisfaction with integration. The article begs the question of who is magnifying the supposed degree of teacher antipathy and particularly why they are doing it. Teachers and parents alike would obviously be concerned about this matter, but Dr. Johnston's response to Wheeling's assertions concerning the exaggeration of teacher dissatisfaction is conspicuously absent.

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[42] Barbara Ball, "School Board Meet; Teacher Assignment Memo Questioned," Virginia Gazette 15 March 1968: 3A.

[43] Barbara Ball, "Turnover of Teachers Expected To Be No Heavier, Says Wheeling," Virginia Gazette 22 March 1968: 3A.

[44] Ball, "Turnover of Teachers" 3A.

Quoting Wheeling further, Ball raises the previously untouched topic of the recruitment of Negro teachers. With no mention of the views of any blacks, Ball reports in one paragraph that the local division is making "a special effort to recruit Negro teachers this year," apparently because the number of applications from blacks had been low.[45] Throughout the rest of 1968, the Gazette provides no follow-up to this matter at all, further proving the newspaper's devotion to coverage of "events" rather than "processes." Finally, at a May 3 school board meeting, the Gazette effectively lays to rest the possibility of high teacher turnover. Quoting outgoing School Superintendent M.H. Bell on his response to Dr. Johnston's previously unreported contention that the division might lose as many as forty teachers, the newspaper reports that his figure is "plenty high if not too high."[46] Once more, the Gazette does not solicit Johnston's reaction, thus producing a skewed account of the teacher dissatisfaction question.

Another facet of integration affecting both whites and blacks in different ways concerned the payment of tuition grants to pupils in private schools. The Virginia General Assembly approved the measure primarily to give whites the option of sending their children to private schools. While school boards could choose not to award the grants, the state would ultimately pay the money anyway and withhold the funds from state money allotted to the locality concerned. An April 19 Gazette article reported on a school board meeting that examined this issue, which had important "moral" ramifications for both whites and blacks. Two board members, Mrs. John Mullaney and Mrs. Martha Whyte, both implored their fellow members to adopt a "more enlightened attitude" and "oppose tuition grants."[47] Echoing this sentiment, the black Reverend J.H. Moody and "several others in the audience" asked the board to take a "moral stand by opposing the issue."[48] Although the final board vote approved continuation of the grants, the Gazette reporter who wrote this article (no byline is provided) chose to write the story in such a way that opponents of tuition grants are provided an overwhelming voice in the article. Only one board member, Champ Y. Powell, is quoted favoring the grants "as a safety valve by helping people who were most adamant in opposition to the changing school situation to go somewhere else."[49] The newspaper's citation of black opponents of state tuition grants chronicles the continued inclusion of at least limited black representation in articles concerning integration. In addition, by consciously giving opponents a significant say in the article even when the board approved the grants unanimously, the article's writer and conceivably Davis believed themselves in the veracity of the sentiments.

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[45] Ball, "Turnover of Teachers" 3A.
[46] Ball, "Turnover of Teachers" 3A.
[47] "Boards Challenged to Question State Grants To Private Schools," Virginia Gazette 19 April 1968: 3A.

At least one news article provides an account of the process of preparing the schools for opening in September. Dated August 23, the story keenly describes how the summer move was "a mammoth undertaking."[50] In addition to offering several anecdotes concerning the transition, the Gazette reminded its white readers that the reorganization of the school system was necessary because "federal authorities termed the local system's "freedom of choice" plan of integration unacceptable."[51] No other Gazette edition during 1968 mentions this facet of integration. Originally the Williamsburg-James City County School Boards wanted to avoid bussing by organizing the distribution of pupils at the elementary schools according to neighborhoods. Because the plan did not comply with federal mandates calling for racial parity at the schools, the school system was forced to construct elementary divisions throughout the city and county which equally apportioned the races at the elementary level. As if to stress Williamsburg's compliance with full desegregation, the Gazette separates the first two sections of the story with the bold segue "Complete Integration."

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[48] "Boards Challenged" 3A.
[49] "Boards Challenged" 3A.
[50] "'Moving Summer For Schools,'" Virginia Gazette 23 Aug. 1968: 2A.
[51] "'Moving Summer'" 2a.

Because Davis kept frank opinion out of news stories, few of the articles previously discussed offer any substantive look at the Gazette's (Davis') viewpoints on specific matters related to integration. The few editorials touching on the subject, however, present an appraisal, though somewhat limited, of Davis' attitude towards integration. Titled "Joined But Unjointed," the first editorial appeared in the March 1 edition and examined the problems of running a joint Williamsburg-James City County school system as well as those associated with the transition to an integrated system. Davis derides white parents for "scurrying around hunting for private schools as an escape from the local public school mess."[52] She then proceeds to attack the school system for its inordinate focus on achieving 50-50 integration and its neglect of the basics of education. "We think it's a lot more important that a teacher in the system knows the difference between 'principal' and 'principle' than for the class to be half-Negro, half-White."[53] Acknowledging the Gazette's support of integration, she goes on to criticize the "bunglesome school machine" for jeopardizing the quality of education it offers by perceiving students not as individuals but as a number and member of a race.

> "In the furor of presenting plans for pupil placement [and complete integration], we're treating pupils as ciphers . . . While recognizing the need for integration of the races, we do not believe that any parent, Negro or White, would be so short-sighted as to believe that an exact proportion of white-colored is more important than the best education for each child. . . Where a kid goes to school isn't all that important. What happens to him—whether he is white, black, pink, or green—when he is in that school is the only thing of importance."[54]

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[52] Evageline Davis, "Joined But Unjointed," editorial, Virginia Gazette 1 March 1968: 4A.
[53] Davis 4A.
[54] Davis 4A.

Like Gee, who contends that many blacks believed integration ultimately undermined the quality of education for their children, Davis too thinks the federal requirements for an equal distribution of the races in the schools threaten to harm the effectiveness of public education. Her passionate essay assails integration not for its moral or idealistic probity, but instead its rigidly defined guidelines for the distribution of the races. To her the actual process of integration may in the long run be more destructive to the educational system than segregation; wasting time and money on such problems as distributing pupils so that there will be no wasted space and making sure that no major alterations are needed for buildings, the school system, she says, has become distracted from its primary purpose of educating students.[55]

In an August 30 editorial titled "Hopeful Outlook," Davis renews the prospect that the school system will return to its primary mission of education now that integration has finally taken place. Pointing to the appointment of new School Superintendent Henry Renz as the dawning of a "new school day," Davis quotes a school board member who proclaims that it appears that the board "finally did something right."[56] The managing editor concludes the five paragraph editorial with an observation and a longing that seems to appeal to both whites and blacks in the community. "We don't believe the school system can withstand many more of the bumbling fiascoes of the past few years and survive. We do believe that with this obviously dedicated, inspired new administration, the school system can become what everyone wants it to be—the best possible."[57] In personal interviews, both Davis and Gee said integration, though necessary, may have done more harm than good, especially to black society. Each society, the two held, had schools catered to the needs of their people. While black schools did not have the resources at their disposal which white schools did, they had committed teachers who related to and understood the best means of instruction. Integration, both wholeheartedly agreed, drove whites and blacks together for the first time. However, it also left blacks with a lost sense of identity as many were forced to adapt to the culturally-biased methods of instruction in the white-controlled schools.

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[55] Davis 4A.

[56] Evageline Davis, "Hopeful Outlook," editorial, Virginia Gazette 30 Aug. 1968: 4A.

[57] Davis, "Hopeful Outlook" 4A.

Davis repeatedly admitted her failure to offer any in-depth coverage of such issues relating to the effects of integration on black society. However, she remained steadfast in her conviction that her and her staff's coverage of integration was objective by 1960s standards. This analysis has repeatedly pointed out that this claim is exceedingly difficult to substantiate. Therefore, the larger rhetorical question which this inquiry inevitably prompts is: should a small-town, Southern, conservative newspaper such as The Virginia Gazette be held to such a high standard of professionalism? As Davis keenly pointed out, her entire staff consisted of an assortment of "inexperienced housewives" and "college students." She said that she could not hire "professional journalists" because her publisher did not have the money. Faced with such difficulties, Davis accepted the newspaper's limitations and covered the community, she says, "as best she could.."[58] This defeatist attitude, which Davis shares with both Ball and Spirn, signifies the most obvious reason that the managing editor acquiesced to the *status quo* at the Gazette instead of seeking an alternative way out of the newspaper's predicament. For example, with a few phone calls and more extensive investigation, several of the articles discussed could have been considerably more balanced. Nevertheless, Davis chose not to investigate the problems associated with integration, especially those that affected blacks, because she believed white society was not interested. Her mind-set and that of her staff was unquestionably shaped by their membership in white Williamsburg society. As such, their sympathies and interests naturally resided with this segment of the community and news stories invariably focused on issues and happenings that were of particular concern to them. In this impeded capacity as a journalist, Davis especially could not assume the role of a spectator in the grandstand at the sporting event and offer balanced accounts of integration because of her inseparable association with and concern for white society. Taking this into account, one must therefore conclude that Davis ultimately betrayed her own standards of professionalism, especially those of objectivity, however idealistic, gleaned from her mentor McGill.

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[58] Davis, personal interview.

The limited coverage afforded blacks in the Gazette during integration did mark a symbolic step toward greater, or equal inclusion of black society in the newspaper, but proved far from fulfilling the newspaper's role as a community newspaper. Harold Martin in his biography Ralph McGill, Reporter likens the late editor, who strived to cover the complete story of integration in The Atlanta Constitution, to the traveler in Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken." "Each time, by some instinct," he writes, "he had chosen the hard road, the lonely road, "the road less traveled by.""[59] Unfortunately, one can not apply this allusion to Davis. She suppressed her instincts as a journalist to seek out the full story of integration, largely ignored the black community, and consequently maintained the role of the Gazette as the voice of the white community. Indeed, instead of taking "the road less traveled by," Davis and the rest of her staff took the well-traveled, narrow road paved and controlled by white society.

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[59] Harold H. Martin, Ralph McGill, Reporter (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1973) 324.

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A QUESTION OF RACE: A SOUTHERN LIBERAL JOURNALISTS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INJUSTICE

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A QUESTION OF RACE: A SOUTHERN LIBERAL JOURNALISTS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INJUSTICE

The ideology of the New South echoed through the editorials of Harry Mell Ayers. But for Ayers, the glory of the New South proved more of a dream than a reality until the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In Roosevelt and his New Deal programs, Ayers found a political philosophy that incorporated his vision of a New South. The central idea of the New Deal also appealed to Ayers' liberal conscience that people were more important than property and government's should promote freedom and opportunity. However, Ayers struggled to mesh the liberal ideology of the New Deal with conservative southern traditions of states rights, segregation, and social inequality. Thus, the New Deal reinforced an old dilemma that plagued Ayers throughout his career—the question of racial equality in segregated society.

A QUESTION OF RACE: A SOUTHERN LIBERAL JOURNALISTS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INJUSTICE

For more than fifty years, 1910-1964, Colonel Harry Mell Ayers, editor and owner of the Anniston *Star*, promoted his vision of the New South. More than anything else, Colonel Ayers wanted the South to regain the glory lost during the Civil War and Reconstruction. For the first two decades of his career, his social and economic dreams for the New South proved elusive, especially when the Depression gripped the region in the early 1930s. But near the end of the thirties and into the forties, military troops began to pour into Anniston from across the country, including thousands of black soldiers. It was important to Ayers to make a good impression on these new soldiers. How others perceived the South often seemed more important to him than how southerners perceived themselves. When several soldiers wrote letters to the editor complaining about the unfriendly treatment they had received in the "Model City," as Anniston was called, Ayers wrote a series of soul-search editorials about the South. One editorial could have been titled "The paradox of the South."

> The South is a land of many wonders; civilized but with numerous contradictions; naturally blest with great wealth but the poorest section in the country; possessed of a great amount of manpower but with too few factories to run—a region where people grow cotton and sleep on hard beds. The South has its backwoods and its cities, superstition and knowledge, hope and discouragement.[1]

Ayers said the South's contradictions were normal, reaffirmed his love for the region, and defined his dream for a New South.

> We want to see the discriminations removed; we want to see the hidden wealth brought to light for the enrichment of the South's people; we want to see the South reclaimed. We want to see the South reach the destination which her wealth and her climate declare is hers.[2]

Ayers' editorials usually reflected the editor's feisty, upbeat style, whereas this editorial was different. The melancholy compared to that of a father whose gifted yet rebellious son had shamed him once again. Ayers blamed the war between the states for most of the South's poor circumstances. "It was a war which never should have happened," he wrote. "It grew out of bitter human hatred on both sides. The nation remained united, but the South was stricken."[3] Ayers said he did not want sympathy from other sections of the country, but desired understanding of the South's dilemma and respect for her industrious people. Ayers' vision of the South included educational equality with the North, racial harmony, farm ownership for tenants, and diversity in its agriculture.

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[1] *The Anniston Star*, "This, Our Land," 2 March 1941, p. 4

[2] *Ibid*, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 4.

In espousing what were then liberal ideals, Ayers united with a large group of progressive Southern journalists who carried on *Atlanta Constitution* editor Henry Grady's call for a New South. In the late 1800s and into the twentieth century, Grady became one of the South's biggest boosters. He proclaimed the post-Civil War and post-Reconstruction era, the time of the New South. Calling for a renewal of Southern industry and agriculture, Grady and others like him promoted the South's natural resources, its temperate climate, and its hard-working populace.

The ideology of the New South echoed through the editorials of Harry Mell Ayers. But for Ayers, the glory of the New South proved more of a dream than a reality until the election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In Roosevelt and his New Deal programs, Ayers found a political philosophy that incorporated his vision of a New South. The central idea of the New Deal also appealed to Ayers' liberal conscience that "a person is more important in a civilization than property, that government itself must and should be used to make freedom the expanding force it can be when the individual has the opportunity to develop his own soul."[4] However, Ayers struggled to mesh the liberal ideology of the New Deal with conservative southern traditions of states rights, segregation, and social inequality.

This inherent cultural conflict plagued Colonel Harry Mell Ayers during most of his newspaper career, but especially during the Roosevelt years, from 1933 to 1945. This paper will consider the following research questions: First, how did the New South movement influence Ayers as a Southerner and as a journalist? Second, how did Ayers define his role as a New South liberal? Third, why did Ayers buy into the New Deal? Finally, how did the New Deal influence Ayers and how did he rectify the inherent contradictions between the New Deal and traditional southern ideology?

The New South movement

In a study of prominent Southern liberal writers, Daniel Joseph Singal explained that the New South liberal movement marked the beginning of a rapid transition of the South from Victorianism to Modernism. He said New South liberals found their voice in response to the extremists that dominated the region until World War I. The extremists warned of the menace of the black beast and advocated strong measures, including lynchings to keep the blacks in line. The liberals, on the other hand, took a paternalistic approach to blacks, offering "help, guidance, and protection in exchange for a commitment to the New South values of thrift and hard work, as well as a continued subservience." Singal explained,

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[4] Mark Ethridge, quoted in *The Anniston Star*, 19 May 1944, p. 4.

> Often divided on the question of disfranchisement, the liberals all vigorously condemned lynching, supported Tuskegee-style industrial education, and promised economic opportunity for blacks with special talents. If pressed for a long-range prognosis, most liberals would have predicted a very gradual uplifting of the Negro race, although they would have quickly added that blacks could never attain full equality with whites.[5]

Singal described the dilemma faced by New South liberals stemmed from the democratization of the ante-bellum concept of "the southern gentleman as the exemplar of self-control." This new class of southern gentlemen wanted the conditions of the poorer class of whites to improve, but they "remained contemptuous and fearful of them." The New South's perception of blacks mixed a traditional paternalism with Victorian moralism, "sympathetic with their plight but preoccupied with preserving the strict separation between civilization and savagery."[6] Singal said the paradox for the New South liberals, however, arose from their fundamental cultural assumptions perpetrated by "the divisions in class and race they deplored."[7] In other words, as liberals, they valued human rights, equality, and freedom, but they struggled to deal with imbedded cultural stereotypes, assumptions, and values.

This paradox became the underlying theme of Gunnar Myrdal's monumental study of America's black-white relations. *An American Dilemma* focused on the conflict between the American ideals of democracy and equality, and white America's denial of those rights to blacks. Myrdal predicted that the American creed would gradually reduce the gap between American ideals and the way white Americans treated blacks.[8] Indeed, Myrdal concluded his preface by saying "that not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals."[9]

This became especially true for southern liberal journalists who espoused American ideals of freedom and democracy, but resisted their application to every member of the society, regardless of race and social standing. In a study of southern liberal journalists, John T. Kneebone chronicled the careers of some of the men who helped prepare the South for these changes. Kneebone theorized that the outright opposition to racism fell from intellectual respectability. The progressive leaders, he said, recognized that the Jim Crow system of racism was no longer ideologically justifiable. Therefore, race relations created tension for the second generation of New South liberals, and they "strove to devise programs of reform that would contribute to southern progress without provoking the chaos of racial conflict."[10] Southern liberal journalists, according to Kneebone, wanted better race relations, not from a devotion to abstract liberal principles, but because they wanted the South to progress. They assumed the burden as critics of "a South they considered backward and benighted."[11]

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[5] Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982) 47.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 33.

[8] David W. Southern, "Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations." (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987) 56.

[9] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944) xix.

Kneebone wrote that southern liberal journalists embraced Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal because they believed the president and his progressive programs would help the South. The New Deal, he said, had little impact on racial issues. Indeed, Kneebone said Roosevelt avoided racial issues in politics.[12] Kneebone asserts that the main reason southern journalists became disillusioned with New Deal policies stemmed from the program's pejorative effect on the plight of tenant farmers.[13]

Ayers and the New South movement

In a sense, Ayers' background reflected the influence of both the New South and the antebellum South. Everything about Anniston pointed to the emergence of the New South, a label promoted by Atlanta journalist Henry Grady. Founded in 1882, Anniston grew out of a joint venture between Daniel Tyler, a former union general from Connecticut, and Samuel Nobel, a foundryman who had made munitions for the Confederacy during the war. Writing in the first issue of the city's newspaper, the *Hot Blast*, Grady described Anniston as the model city of his dream for the New South.

Three years later, on December 18, 1865, Harry Mell Ayers was born in Anniston to Thomas Wilburn and Minnie Shelton Ayers. When Harry was four, he moved with his family to nearby Jacksonville. His father owned and edited newspapers, and Harry grew up around hot type and printer's ink. Young Harry also spent time in Georgia visiting his grandfather, a Confederate veteran of the Civil War.

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[10] John T. Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985) xx.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. xix.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

In 1901 Thomas Wilburn Ayers, having given up journalism for a medical career a few years earlier, entered the Baptist missionary service and moved most of his family to Hwang-hsien, Shantung Province, China. His oldest son, Harry Mell Ayers, then a teenager, stayed behind to attend Atkins Hall Normal School. At the Atkins school, Harry came under the influence of Dr. Carl Holiday, author of *The History of Southern Literature*. and several other books. Many of his classmates became journalists, including Grover Hall Sr., who later won the Pulitzer Prize. After high school, Harry joined his parents and spent three years in China, where he taught English. In 1910, Harry prepared to return home. Before Harry left, his father pulled him aside and warned him not to get into politics. As the editor of newspapers in Alabama and Georgia, the elder Ayers had leaped into the fray of several political battles. His counsel to his son was based on experience. "For if I have an enemy in the world," his father said, "that enemy was made during a political campaign."[14]

Ayers never heeded his father's advice. Although he never ran for a major public office, the son dueled with his pen and soon became an influential force in Alabama politics. Ayers returned from China and joined the staff of the Anniston *Evening Star* as a reporter. He made six dollars a week but soon earned much more money doing sideline work. This did not set well with his city editor, especially when Ayers two incomes exceeded that of the city editor's—a bone of contention that may have led to Harry's dismissal. Ayers then went to work for Anniston's competing paper, *The Hot Blast*. He eventually bought the paper, and whipped the *Evening Star* into submission. In 1910, he purchased the *Star* and merged the two papers. According to John T. Hamner, who became managing editor of the Alabama *Journal*, Ayers did not consider being fired from a newspaper a disgrace. At least that's what Ayers told Hamner when the publisher fired Hamner, then the youngest managing editor in the state. Ayers consoled him by saying that he had once been fired and it had helped his career.[15]

As publisher of the Anniston *Star* from 1910 to 1964, Ayers directed the successful gubernatorial campaign of Frank Dixon, served as a delegate to the 1928 Democratic National Convention, and used the *Star's* editorial pages to promote and scold state and national politicians. Senators, U.S. representatives, presidential candidates, and many more of the country's leading politicians sought the opinion and advice of the fiery liberal editor from Anniston. New editors at large newspapers throughout the country considered the *Star* one of the best small-city dailies in the country. And Ayers kept in touch with other journalists through letters and his membership in the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

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[14] *The Anniston Star*, Part of the Harry Mell Ayers papers, The University of Alabama.
[15] John T. Hamner, Ayers papers, University of Alabama Special Collections.

What set Ayers apart from other southern liberal journalists of his era was his interest in and understanding of international issues. The China experience had broadened his perspectives, and he became more keenly aware of the impact international events had on America and the South. Indeed, one of the recurrent themes on his editorial page was the plight of the Chinese and their war with Japan. He promoted relief efforts for Chinese refugees fleeing Japanese aggression, and warned about Japanese militarism long before Pearl Harbor.

As editor and owner of the *Star*, Ayers demanded objective coverage on the news pages, but viewed the editorial page as a voice for liberal Democratic principles. He styled his political philosophy after President Woodrow Wilson and often referred to Wilson's foresight and greatness as a world leader. He condemned Wilson's opponents as isolationists.

Wilson proved an ideal mentor for the young publisher. Wilson "championed the aspirations of little men and nations."[16] Wilson's background as a southerner and the former president of Princeton University appealed to Ayers profound reverence for highly civilized and intelligent leaders. The editor blamed much of the world's problems upon the inability of the U.S. Senate to ratify the League of Nations covenant. His devotion to Wilson mirrored that of other liberal editorial writers in New York, Frank Cobb and Walter Lippmann of the New York *World.* Indeed, Ayers routinely quoted Lippmann's columns throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

The defeat of the League of Nations covenant and the death of Wilson shifted Ayers' focus to state and local issues. He managed the campaign of Alabama Governor Thomas E. Kilby, and served as the lieutenant colonel of the National Guard on Kilby's staff from 1919-1923. Afterward, he retained the title of colonel throughout his life.

During the 1920s, Ayers used his editorial pages to fight the Ku Klux Klan and condemn lynchings. For him, the Klan and lynchings represented the lack of civilization and portrayed the South to the rest of the country in a negative light. Commenting on the number of lynchings recorded in 1927, Ayers wrote that, "Sixteen persons lynched are too many. That places a dark enough blot on the record of the South as a whole. One such affair is too many."[17] In this sense, Ayers reflected the Victorian influence of the Southern culture. Uncivilized actions portrayed the South in a negative light and fueled negative stereotypes of the Southern people.[18]

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[16] "Roosevelt's Grange Speech; A Very Depressing Utterance." *The Anniston Star*, 2 February 1932, p. 4.

[17] "Alabama's Record Unstained By Lynching During Last Year." *The Anniston Star*, 2 January 1928, p. 4.

Lynchings and other signs of bigotry and mob violence proved especially troubling for this New South advocate who longed for respect from the rest of the country. His concern for the plight of poor Southerners, both black and white, stemmed as much from his desire to see the South regain the respect of the nation as it did from his abiding compassion for the defenseless. In many of his editorials, he alluded to the way others perceive the South. He resented those Southerners who resorted to mob violence or any other kind of uncivilized behavior. Ayers represented himself as an enlightened Southerner who eschewed bigotry based on race, religion, or class.

Thus, the 1928 Democratic presidential campaign placed him in an awkward position because he refused to join other Alabama newspapers in supporting former New York Governor Alfred Smith. Smith was Catholic, and the 1928 campaign was marred by anti-Catholic rhetoric. Ayers emphasized that he opposed Smith because of the former governor's connection to New York's notorious political faction, Tammany Hall.[19] An accompanying editorial lends credence to Ayers' claim that he did not support the New Yorker because of his political connections and not the former governor's religious affiliation. In that editorial, Ayers condemned Alabama Senator J. Thomas Heflin for "humiliating" Alabamians. Heflin had threatened that Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson would be "tarred and feathered" if the senator made a speech on behalf of religious liberty in Alabama. What upset Ayers most about the statement was that it came in the wake of recent criticism of the Ku Klux Klan in the state. Ayers wrote that "the state has been given a black eye before the nation at large as a lawless commonwealth." According to Ayers, Heflin had become so obsessed with his anti-Catholic campaign that "thinking persons" no longer took him seriously.[20]

Four months later, Ayers reiterated that his opposition to the nomination of Alfred Smith had not stemmed from religious prejudice. However, the reasons given for opposing Smith smacked of another form of prejudice. Ayers claimed that Smith would never have been elected governor of New York if not for the support of a large number of foreign-born citizens in New York City.

> Unable to speak our language, getting their information from newspapers printed in a foreign tongue, directed even in their labor by bosses that speak the language of

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[18] See Singal, *The War Within.*

[19] "Another Alabama Newspaper Launches A Presidential Boon." *The Anniston Star,* 22 January 1928, p. 4.

[20] "A Most Unfortunate Expression Is Used by Senator J. T. Heflin." *The Anniston Star,* 22 January 1928, p. 4.

> their nativity, they know nothing of the mass consciousness of the American people; and it was because of the pernicious influence that this large influx of unassimilable stock was exercising on our American ideals that it was found necessary a few years ago to enact a more drastic immigration law for the protection of our American standards. Indeed Governor Smith himself knows little of the United States from first-hand knowledge.[21]

Ayers said Smith's support in New York City constitutes "one of the most intolerant elements in American life." This editorial reveals one of the inherent contradictions in Ayers' logic. He shows little patience for those who oppose Smith because of his religion, but he exhibits racial intolerance for foreign-born New Yorkers who do not represent "pioneer American stock, largely Anglo Saxon."[22]

As a Democratic delegate to the Houston Convention in 1928, Ayers continued to oppose Smith and espoused a Democratic platform that included support for Prohibition. However, Ayers was unsuccessful on both counts, and reluctantly threw his support behind Smith, the Democratic nominee. Herbert Hoover later defeated Smith in the general election.

During the convention, Ayers must have caught the attention of another presidential candidate, New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. Sometime during the winter of 1928 and 1929, Roosevelt wrote Ayers and asked for suggestions in regard to the National Democratic Organization. Ayers responded but did not hear back from Roosevelt until a year later, November 11, 1929. Roosevelt apologized for taking so long to respond to Ayers' letter, and mentioned that the National Organization had heeded the advice of Ayers and others by creating "the aggressive, militant organization now operating under Jouette Shouse." Roosevelt continued,

> In writing this long delayed acknowledgment I want, at the same time, to ask if you will send me another letter, letting me know the present political situation as you know it personally in your own section of the country. What is being done in the way of active work by the Local Organization? What Issues seem best for our Party to take up so far as the voters with whom you come in personal contact are concerned? And what suggestions have you as to increasing the efficiency of our Party, generally?
>
> It is, of course, still my very definite thought that we should concentrate on organization work and on issues, avoiding any discussion of candidacies of

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[21] "Some Of The Fundamental Bases of the Opposition to Al Smith." *The Anniston Star*, 8 April 1928, p. 4.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

individuals. It would be a fine thing if by common consent we Democrats could omit personalities and the advancing of candidacies until at least the first of January, 1932.[23]

The New York governor's letter likely helped persuade Ayers to jump on the Roosevelt bandwagon in 1932. The Anniston *Star* backed Roosevelt for the Democratic nomination until February when Roosevelt sinned against the memory of Woodrow Wilson. In a speech, Roosevelt repudiated the League of Nations. "What a travesty," Ayers wrote, "this is as coming from a man who had just joined hands with that little band of traitors in the Republican party that did so much in 1919-`20 to destroy our national honor!" The Anniston *Star* had supported Roosevelt because of his progressive views on domestic issues, but the governor's "cheap bid for preferment" had proved dishonorable to the party of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, and Wilson.[24]

With Roosevelt banished to Republican isolationism, Ayers began supporting the campaign of Newton D. Baker, the former Secretary of War under Wilson. Baker was an obvious choice. The two men had exchanged correspondence, and Baker seemed willing to confide in the Alabama editor. Another benefit to Baker was that he wasn't from New York. He lived in Cleveland.

In state politics, Ayers promoted the candidacy of former Governor Thomas E. Kilby for the U.S. Senate. An Anniston resident, Kilby shared many of Ayers' beliefs: No favoritism in governmental expenditures, the reduction of taxes, payment of pensions for World War I veterans, and parity for agriculture with industry. But most important, Ayers could influence Kilby. The editor's columns praised Kilby's courage and compared his political fights to Israel's battles against the Canaanites. When Ayers wrote that Kilby, a long-time supporter of Prohibition, favored a national referendum on the question of the Eighteenth Amendment, the editor provided a detailed defense against criticism from dry forces. The editorial marked a policy change for Ayers, one that reflected the changing opinion of other New South liberals who had opposed repealing Prohibition. George Fort Milton, editor of The Chattanooga *News*, had fought for prohibition for 20 years, but was now willing to submit the amendment to the democratic will of the people.[25]

Ayers had initially opposed discarding the amendment. In an open letter to John J. Raskob of the Democratic National Committee, Ayers explained that he opposed prohibition for the following reasons: First, he said it was an injustice for an organized minority or majority of the people to impose their will on the rest of the nation; Second, it was the law and not easily dismissed; Third, drinking by parents would set a poor example for children; Fourth, the amendment had been a success, especially in the South; Fifth, it has saved the country money; and Finally, it had saved the lives of southern children in an environment surrounded by an elemental race, "whose passions are inflamed by liquor, the general sale of which would make it unsafe for those children to walk the streets unprotected."[26]

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[23] Roosevelt to Ayers, 11 November 1929, Ayers Papers, The University of Alabama Library Special Collections.

[24] *The Anniston Star*, 14 February 1932, p. 4.

[25] "Another Noted Dry Leader Advocates The Referendum." *The Anniston Star*, 24 April 1932.

Roosevelt and the New Deal

At the 1932 Democratic Presidential Convention in July, Roosevelt defeated Al Smith, Newton D. Baker, and others to receive the nomination. Roosevelt captured the imagination of the delegates, Ayers said, and he predicted a Roosevelt victory in November. The New York governor triumphed against Herbert Hoover as the Depression-afflicted populace sought new leadership. Ayers wrote that the majority of Americans had revolted against standpatism in favor of "a new deal in government."[27]

Although his editorials expressed unwavering support for the newly elected president, Ayers had his doubts about some of Roosevelt's policies. Newton D. Baker alluded to some of these doubts in a letter sent to Ayers dated August 29, 1933. In answer to a question from Ayers, Baker wrote the following:

> I do not think I could have found anywhere in my makeup such amazing stores of courage and good cheer as President Roosevelt has shown in his leadership. Many of the policies which have been started in Washington seem to me at variance with all the teachings of history and I have to content myself with hoping that these new adventures will be restrained within practicable limits and not lead to consequences which their excessive prosecution in other times and places have seemed to entail. After all, we are living in a very new world and it may well be that some of the wells into which our ancestors let down buckets and which were then dry will now prove to have real water in them.when this generation tests them.[28]

Ayers perceived that the New Deal would provide the tools for helping Alabama's poor, both black and white. But many New Deal programs stalled in the Supreme Court, which questioned their constitutionality. Ayers urged the court to take quicker action on New Deal policies and did not seem aversive to Roosevelt's later efforts to stack the court.

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[26] "Prohibition A Question Of Enforcement; An Open Letter To Hon. John J. Raskob." *The Anniston Star*, 23 July 1928, p. 4.

[27] "Roosevelt's Great Victory Is A Rebuke To Standpatism, *The Anniston Star*, 9 November 1932, p. 4.

[28] Baker to Ayers, 28 August 1933, Ayers papers, The University of Alabama Special Collections.

New Deal policies seemed to provide Ayers with the justification he needed for tackling deeper problems in Alabama society. Government plans to curb agricultural production and prop up farm prices shed new light on the South's problems with its sharecropping and tenancy system. "The depression served to focus attention on the troubles of the farmers in general," Ayers wrote in 1935, "and the plight of the tenant became more desperate as farm values decreased and the government stepped in with a plan designed to relieve the situation."[29]

Whereas Ayers believed government programs helped farmers overall, in some cases they harmed tenant farmers while benefiting the landowners. Ayers supported New Deal legislation sponsored by Alabama Senator John H. Bankhead to allow tenant farmers to purchase land and pay off their loans over a long period of time. Many of the sharecroppers and tenants affected by this type of legislation were black, but Ayers emphasized that studies had shown that the majority of tenant farmers were white. And their numbers had grown by 200,000 in the 1920s compared to a decrease of 2,000 black tenant farmers during the same period.[30]

Agriculture proved to be a dominant theme for Ayers throughout the 1920s and 1930s. He consistently advocated the need for Southern farmers too diversify their crops and grow something other than cotton. In doing so, he echoed the prophecy of Henry W. Grady, who said a transformation would take place in the South when the Southern farmer deserted the one-crop system. According to Ayers, diversity provided the "surest means of bringing farmers out of the financial rut and upon substantial foundation."[31] In 1935, he warned that cotton production had shifted westward, and "we must find substitute crops that will stave off final ruination in a land made poor by the cotton tenant farmer system that so many persons seek to perpetuate."

Ayers support for eliminating farm tenancy stemmed from a compassion for the tenant farmers as well as a pragmatic belief that improving the lot of the farmers would increase the purchasing power and economy of the South in general. "The system that holds these people in its clutches is as vicious as was the serfdom of France before the Revolution," Ayers wrote.[32] Farm tenancy painted a bleak picture of the effects of Southern civilization, according to Ayers. For the solution to the tenancy problems, Ayers looked to the political process. Government needed to intervene to eliminate the problem. Ironically, Ayers' support of government intervention proved conditional upon the concept of states rights—that is, whether Southerners wanted the help or not.

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[29] "Aid For Sharecropper, *The Anniston Star*, 5 March 1935, p. 4.
[30] "Bankhead And The Farmers." *The Anniston Star*, 21 April, 1935, p. 4.
[31] "Less Cotton Acreage Gives Farmer Time For Other Crops." *The Anniston Star*, 7 March 1928, p. 4.
[32] "A Challenging Address." *The Anniston Star*, 8 September 1935, p. 4.

For example, Ayers wanted the government to help Southern industry, particularly the textile industry, by intervening in the South's battle with the railroads for equitable freight rates. The railroads charged higher rates for goods transported from the South and West than it did for those coming from the East. This inequity increased the cost of Southern industrial goods and served to deter industry from establishing factories in the South. The North, according to Ayers, destroyed the South's budding industrial growth during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Now it continued to keep the South down by maintaining unfair freight rates on goods exported from the South.

On the other hand, Ayers resented federal interference in the affairs of Southern businesses and state government. The textile industry was one of Anniston's biggest employers. The industry was notorious for exploiting labor. Violent labor strikes in 1929 drew attention to the abuses in the industry. Ayers strongly opposed attempts to pass the Child Labor Amendment, and it is possible that the textile industry's opposition to the bill may have influenced him. The case he built against the child labor law was that it would rob young people of opportunities to earn money at odd jobs, such as delivering newspapers. But he never mentioned the possibility that industrialists might be exploiting child labor in their textile mills. Ayers considered the amendment well intentioned but ill conceived.

Another instance of Ayers opposing federal intervention occurred when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the indictments against seven black defendants accused of rape in the famous Scottsboro case. In 1932 the court rejected the conviction because the defendants were not provided an adequate defense. Ayers said he believed the blacks had not received a fair trial and agreed with this Supreme Court decision. "The most regrettable feature of the situation is that outsiders will take this as an indication that the Alabama courts were not diligent in their efforts to provide an impartial trial or that the decision was based on prejudice," Ayers wrote.[33]

The Supreme Court again reversed the Alabama courts' decision in 1935 because blacks were not included in the jury rolls. This ruling troubled Ayers. "In any case in which the defendants were able to employ Eastern lawyers the outcome would be a foregone conclusion, for these lawyers would never miss an opportunity to carry the fight to the Supreme Court."[34] Two weeks later when Alabama Governor Bibb Graves called on county authorities to revise their jury lists, Ayers applauded the action and saw no reason why "the better class of citizens of the colored race" could not serve on juries.[35]

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[33] "Supreme Court Decision In The Scottsboro Case." *The Anniston Star*, 11 November 1932, p. 4.
[34] "The Scottsboro Decision." *The Anniston Star*, 2 April 1935, p. 4.

But Ayers was not ready for dramatic social changes, such as the "so-called Child Labor Amendment" and the elimination of the poll tax. He wanted better education for the blacks and poor whites, but the intent behind his motives proved elusive. In calling on white people to support the construction of an agriculture building at the all black college, Tuskegee Institute, Ayers exhibited a paternalistic attitude toward blacks.

> In no other way can we better cement a cordial relationship between the races and advertise to the world our correct attitude toward a minority of our population, a minority that is almost wholly dependent on the white south for its attainment of economic betterment. Enlightened self-interest alone can dictate no other purpose, for so long as we keep the Negro in ignorance and condemn him to live in squalor we are perpetuating a menace to the health, wealth and prosperity of the white people of this section.[36]

In all likelihood, Ayers did not propose helping blacks for the selfish ends of the white race, but this reasoning probably appealed to the majority of his white readers, who had no desire to see the end of the Jim Crow system of segregation in the South. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Ayers often placed editorials about blacks at the bottom of his columns. Most of these editorials contained praise for renowned blacks, such as George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington, or Tuskegee Institute. In one editorial, he tried to belay charges that blacks benefited from government relief funds more than whites did. He cited a study indicating that proportionally fewer blacks needed government relief funds than whites.

In proposing changes in Alabama's education system, Ayers emphasized the importance of improving black schools and black education overall. However, he did not even entertain the possibility of integrated schools. One of the paradoxes of Ayers philosophy on education was the conflict between his ideas about improving higher education in the state and helping black schools. In 1937 he waged a campaign to unify the state's higher education system. The University of Alabama and what is now Auburn University did not need to duplicate programs, according to Ayers. Indeed, he believed the state could free up more money for education if it would eliminate a lot of the duplication in programs existing at state-sponsored colleges. Ironically, the duplication in the secondary and state college system for white and black students apparently was not open for discussion. Ayers admitted that improving the states education system for blacks would cost the taxpayers more money but would be worth it.

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[35] "Negroes On Juries." *The Anniston Star,* 7 April 1935, p. 4.
[36] "White Opportunity." *The Anniston Star,* 9 September 1935, p. 4.

The elevation of black education is a prime necessity for the New South, Ayers wrote in February, 1940. Ayers' condemned the "Negrophobes" in Mississippi for smugly declaring that school textbooks of white children are too good for Negro consumption. "Intolerable conditions arising from efforts to further deny the Negro educational rights are not to be condoned," he said. "For a full exchange of ideas the Negro must be educated so he can express his thoughts intelligently, and it is merely trying to stay the tide when such reactionary objections are raised."[37]

When advocating more state funding for schools, Ayers often cited statistics showing that Alabama ranked with Mississippi in paying the least amount of money to support education. He also noted that Alabama teachers had the lowest salaries in the nation, and Alabama's eight-month schedule was the nation's shortest. "Moreover, Supreme Court decisions in Washington, D.C., have imposed new demands on the forces responsible for school administration in Alabama and even with the new money available the schools can run but one week longer."[38]

Ayers requested more federal and state money for Alabama schools, but he did not want any strings attached to the funds. States Rights had been an important issue in the South since the Constitutional Convention. Throughout the New Deal years, Ayers walked a fine line between the growing federal bureaucracy and business interests. He applauded Roosevelt for backing off from his reforms in the mid 1930s, but then chided the Supreme Court for striking down some of the New Deal legislation. In 1937 he called on Roosevelt to give business a breathing spell from New Deal legislation restricting price increases. "We are against the measure, moreover, because we are opposed to concentrating more authority at Washington."[39] But Ayers made it clear that opposition to some of the president's policies did not translate into opposition to Roosevelt.

When former Senator J. Thomas Heflin ran against Congressman Lister Hill for the Alabama senate seat vacated by Hugo Black's appointment to the Supreme Court, Heflin received support from the Republican party. Ayers coached, cheered, and promoted Hill in his editorials. The publisher and the politician made compatible allies. Both had been born into traditional southern families. Both men's fathers were medical doctors. But more important, both backed Roosevelt's New Deal despite occasional disagreements with specific programs. Both were New South liberals. Most important, they were friends. The election of Hill to the Senate proved a major political success for Ayers. Hill provided Ayers with the political influence on the national level he had long enjoyed on the state level in Alabama. The senator's letters to Ayers reflect a mutual respect and a willingness to heed the journalist's advice.

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[37] "Negroes Have A Right." *The Anniston Star*, 12 February 1940, p. 4.
[38] "The Plight of The Schools." *The Anniston Star*, 19 October 1941, p. 4.
[39] "Regarding Wages And Hours." *The Anniston Star*, 14 November 1937, p. 4.

For example, Hill's campaign manager, Ray L. Nolen, contacted Ayers in December 1937 and asked for his council on campaigning in the Black Belt of Alabama (so named for its rich, dark soil). Nolen also agreed with suggestions made by Ayers regarding the campaign. "You are absolutely correct that personal work in the rural sections is a most important element in connection with the closing of the campaign."[40] Hill won the election. In the early 1940s, Ayers helped launch a campaign to widen the Anniston to Piedmont highway. In a letter dated January 22, 1944, Senator Lister Hill wrote that he would look into an unspecified matter dealing with Fort McClellan, the Army post adjacent to Anniston. The politician added that he would do everything he could and then "report to you." Then, speaking about the highway project, Hill wrote,

> I shall also be delighted to follow your suggestions and collaborate with [Alabama Congressman] Sam Hobbs and do all I can with reference to the Anniston-Piedmont Highway. It does seem that this road should be widened.[41]

A letter written in 1945 illustrates that Ayers reciprocated the friendship. In that letter, Hill praised Ayers for a March 7 editorial in which Ayers wrote about the poll tax and "took care of me beautifully." The Senator also urged the editor to spend some time at the politician's home in Washington when Ayers traveled there in the spring.[42]

As the decade of the thirties drew to a close, however, Hill and Ayers were forced to contend with strong anti-New Deal sentiment spreading throughout the South. During the early 1940s, Ayers exchanged barbs with Birmingham *Post* columnist John Temple Graves. The Democratic columnist frequently condemned the New Deal. Ayers responded with editorials denouncing the disloyalty of party members and the danger of undermining the president's domestic programs while the nation battled the Axis powers.

A New Deal for blacks

The Southern Democratic rebellion against the New Deal in the late 1930s troubled Ayers because in part he agreed with the anti-New Dealers. Throughout Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, Ayers defended the New Deal even though he felt some of the progressive legislation was ill-conceived and detrimental to the South. Ayers, however, refused to budge from his position as a booster of Roosevelt and his programs. The criticism of the New Deal forced Ayers to confront the underlying paradox haunting New South liberals—social equality. According to Ayers, the philosophy behind the New Deal was to help the common man—to give him a voice in national affairs, to provide him with a larger share of the national income, and to supply him with equal opportunity. When it came to racial issues, Ayers had regularly reaffirmed his conviction that blacks should share equally in the country's wealth and success. However, he wanted the races to remain socially separate. The conflict between segregation and the philosophies of the New Deal caused many Southern Democrats to break with the president.

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[40] Nolen to Ayers, 24 December 1937, Ayers papers, The University of Alabama Special Collections.

[41] Hill to Ayers, 22 January 1944, Ayers papers, The University of Alabama Special Collections.

[42] Hill to Ayers, 16 March 1945, Ayers papers.

Ayers said the contention stemmed from three particular issues and one general one. The particular issues were the race problem, labor unions and the growing federal bureaucracy. The general issue was states rights, "the very foundation of Southern Democracy."[43] While Ayers devoted several columns to the way the New Deal had provided a voice for labor in its negotiations with business, the race problems proved the most difficult issue to explain away. Labor's growing power and the expanding federal bureaucracy made southerners uncomfortable, but the government's potential intervention in racial issues posed a threat to the Southerner's vision of the New South society. They did not mind blacks sharing in the spoils, but they did not want them getting radical ideas about social equality. Ayers grappled with this dilemma when he confronted the challenges of the New South becoming a reality.

World War II turned the South into a boom area. The region benefited from a large number of military installations and industry. Ayers vision for the New South was rapidly coming to pass. Instead of focusing on the problems of the past, he emphasized the "strong and virile new South that at long last is finding its wings strong enough for soaring flight."[44] With one of America's largest arsenals at Fort McClellan, Anniston boomed with new people, business, and money. The growth and expansion posed problems for the city, but Ayers said the "tools for victory" were in the southern people's hands. Ayers now saw the potential for cultural as well as economic change.

> It goes without saying that our culture must parallel our industrial development, else we shall lose all. We must begin now to plan for the future. The golden opportunity pictured a half century and more ago by the immortal Henry W. Grady is here. . .

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[43] "Undivided 'Solid South.'" *The Anniston Star,* 25 January 1943, p. 4.
[44] "The New South." *The Anniston Star,* 14 February 1943, p. 4.

> now, today. Will we be blinded by today's fast pace and riches, or will we seize the moment to place the South in her rightful place. . . in the forefront of the nation?[45]

The cultural changes most likely were meant changes in race relations. Ayers was not willing to sacrifice segregation, but he did call for an end to economic and educational discrimination. He believed local blacks wanted the same things, although he had plenty of evidence before him disputing that conclusion. For example, the all-black township of Hobson City had not become the model Negro municipality for which Ayers had hoped. "Unfortunately, however, the ablest of our Negroes do not live in Hobson City and, by and large, it does not represent their race very creditably."[46]

Ayers condemned efforts by blacks in the North to apply political pressure to pass laws in Congress that would bring about changes in the South. For Ayers, federal intervention in the South's racial problems threatened states rights and would not be accepted by Southerners. The Northern blacks want "social equality," and Ayers considered that prospect "both biologically and ethnically undesirable, and it will never be achieved."[47] (Ibid, p. 4) Many of the southern liberal editors believed the racial issue was "inexorably intertwined with the question of sex relations, on which we base our ideas of race segregation—a principle which no power on earth can cause us to abandon."[48]

The Poll Tax

Ayers' opposition to social equality did not preclude his efforts to chip away at discriminatory practices in the South. Starting in 1943, his primary target was the poll tax. Voters in most of the Southern states were required to pay a poll tax to vote in elections. The poll tax originated from an effort to disenfranchise blacks by making voting too costly for them to afford. In urging the repeal of the poll tax, Ayers emphasized that a lot of poor whites could not pay the tax either. His fight against the poll tax helped Ayers' deal with the conflict between democracy and segregation. It also served a utilitarian value because it could increase the number of voters and help wrest the control of state politics from the hands of anti-New Dealers.

> For the very existence of the poll tax in itself is undemocratic, in that it disfranchises not only the Negroes but thousands of otherwise eligible white voters as well. But that, too, suits the nefarious purposes of those who are engaged in the so-called Democratic revolt, because they know that the interests which they

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[46] "Our Own Racial Problems." *The Anniston Star*, 20 December 1942, p. 4.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[48] "John Temple Graves Deserves Applause." *The Anniston Star*, 20 February 1944, p. 4.

> represent always fare better when the vote is small and more easily controlled, as in a conventions to select delegates.[49]

Throughout the mid 1940s, Ayers advocated the repeal of the poll tax in letters to several southern journalists. Most of them preferred to remain mum on the issue. Josephus Daniels, president of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, thanked Ayers for sending his editorial on the poll tax. He then explained why he would not use the editorial.

> No matter what you say, your [sic] get in trouble and you never know exactly that you are right, and as in this state we have no poll tax, and our relations are quite good, I prefer to let the sleeping dog lie. Maybe it is cowardly, but I prefer to be charged with that than to get into a wrangle.[50]

Another editor, Ayers's close friend Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, said he agreed with Ayers concerning the repeal of the poll tax and admired him for speaking out boldly "in a state where the issue is far more explosive than it is here." But Dabney said his paper had decided to "soft-pedal" the issue because they had written about it so much that the readers began to revolt. Dabney had gone beyond the poll tax and proposed the elimination of segregation on street cars and buses.

> I agree with you that segregation in general must be maintained, but I think this thing we have on streetcars and buses is simply a needless irritant. You will be interest to know that we published 137 letters concerning this proposal of ours as to segregation, 114 from whites. Of those 114, 87 backed us up.[51]

One editor, Birney Imes of Columbus, Mississippi, considered Ayers' editorial "fine idealism." But in reality, he said that,

> . . .when the negroes vote the floodgates of demagogues will be wide open; they will be cultivating negroes as voters, promising them all kinds of political jobs, exploiting them world without end. Voting rights will. . . lead to demands, by radical negro leaders, for abolition of segregation. Segregation is absolutely the only basis on which the white and negro races can live together in peace and harmony. No other plan will work.[52]

Ayers must have agreed with Imes because the Anniston editor never backed away from his commitment to segregation. The New Deal had helped him take the initiative and attack discrimination, but even the New Deal could not change his cultural and traditional attachment to segregation. After the death of Roosevelt and the beginning of the Civil

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[49] "It's A Sorry Spectacle That We Behold." *The Anniston Star*, 11 June 1944, p. 4.
[50] Daniels to Ayers, 12 May 1944, Ayers papers.
[51] Dabney to Ayers, 13 May 1944, Ayers papers.
[52] Imes to Ayers, 30 May 1944, Ayers papers.

Rights movement, Ayers reigned in his liberal views toward racial relations. He never supported integration.

Conclusions

For Harry Mell Ayers, the New Deal symbolized the New South. It provided a political solution to the region's problems. But Ayers was only willing to accept government help and not allow the government to interfere in Southern affairs. No matter how liberal Ayers tried to be, he remained committed to basic southern principles of states rights and segregation. The New Deal attacked some of these ideals and forced Ayers to deal with them, but Roosevelt's legislative proposals failed to break Ayers' cultural ties to his native South. The New Deal also created a dilemma for Ayers because much of the Alabama opposition focused on the program's bent toward social equality for blacks. Ayers found himself in the awkward position of defending the New Deal while at the same time defending cultural ideals of segregation that contradicted what Ayers perceived as one of the inherent strengths of the New Deal—a commitment to human rights and fairness.

Ayers' fight for the repeal of the poll tax marked one of the liberal high points in his career. Afterwards he would find his liberal views more and more in line with the conservative Southern politicians he had blasted in editorials during the 1920s. Indeed, in speeches and public appearances, Ayers continued to defend the South's views on segregation. Ironically, the country's liberal movement, influenced by the New Deal and a second World War, had passed by him. When the New South visions started a reality, particularly in regard to racial equality, Ayers firmly planted his feet in the culture he had worked so hard and long to change.

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NEWSPAPER CONTEMPT AND THE ISSUE OF RACE

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ABSTRACT

One of the more interesting aspects of the relationship of law to communications concerns the application of the law of newspaper contempt to the issue of race. Contempt cases, where judges ruled summarily without the help of juries, provided direct demonstrations of the fears of presiding judges; and issues involving race promoted the occasional articulation of the deepest fears of all. It is not surprising, therefore, that racial issues proved to create a prism through which the doctrine of newspaper contempt was played out during the twentieth century.

In early cases, the doctrine was employed in the protection of the judicial process from racist attacks. After the 1941 case of Bridges v. California, an attempt was made to revive the doctrine by equating its use with the defense of the judicial process against racial stereotypes. This effort failed in the Baltimore Radio Show case, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1950, not because the judicial process was able to focus clearly on racial issues, but because the Court refused to polarize the issue of free speech versus fair trials.

The final demise of contempt by publication became possible when civil liberties became identified with civil rights -- with the crusade for racial justice. The question that members of the Court failed to ask in 1950, when the racial dynamics that were present in the Baltimore Radio Show case were ignored, was impossible to overlook in 1962. In Wood v. Georgia, the doctrine was being used to silence a critic of race-baiting. This use, in the context of the moment, was too preposterous to ignore.

NEWSPAPER CONTEMPT AND THE ISSUE OF RACE

A. Racial Moderation

One of the more interesting aspects of the relationship of law to communications concerns the application of the law of newspaper contempt to the issue of race. Contempt cases, where judges ruled summarily without the help of juries, provided direct demonstrations of the fears of presiding judges; and issues involving race promoted the occasional articulation of the deepest fears of all. It is not surprising, therefore, that racial issues proved to create a prism through which the doctrine of newspaper contempt was played out during the twentieth century.

Our discussion begins with In re Fite, decided by the Georgia Court of Appeals in 1912. Augustus W. Fite was a trial judge in North Georgia, who published two articles in the Atlanta Daily Constitution criticizing a decision of the Court of Appeals in a case alleging the sexual assault of a white woman by Jerry McCullough, a black man. The woman testified that as she was bending over to feed milk to some kittens, McCullough "came in and put both of his hands on me, one on my shoulder and one on my side. ... I told him then to get out of there, or I would knock him out," she continued. "He said, 'I ain't going to hurt you.' When I told him to stop, he kind of stepped back and didn't try to do anything after that."

In the face of this evidence, a jury convicted McCullough of assault with intent to rape and Fite sentenced him to twenty years in the state penitentiary. This conviction was reversed by the Court of Appeals and sent back for a new trial. McCullough was then convicted and sentenced again to the same prison term. After the Court of Appeals reversed the conviction a second time, Fite composed letters to the editor containing highly inflammatory racist remarks.

Fite's first letter to the Atlanta Constitution attributed the Court's reversal of McCullough's conviction to the Court's failure to "believe that a negro should be punished twenty years in the penitentiary for an assault to rape on the wife of a humble farmer." The second letter concerned a point of evidence, and charged that the Court "would encourage rapes upon white women by negroes by allowing them an additional defense in such cases."

These accusations were aimed at what were perceived to be the core values of the dominant culture. Chief Justice Benjamin H. Hill asked "every honest, fair-minded man in Georgia to consider the outrage and insult to Southern character and manhood expressed and implied by this language." He described himself and his colleagues as "Southern men, descendants of Southern men and women, true in every fiber of their being and every pulsation of their hearts to the land of their birth and the memory of their ancestors."

Here was a case, however, where the core values of Southern culture conflicted with the demands of the legal system. In a concurring opinion, Justice J.R. Pottle asked: "Shall the sworn ministers of the law, because of the gravity of the charge, rape justice in her very temple? Shall we forget our oaths of office, our duty to the law, and bid the mob enter the sanctuary of our mistress, and let anarchy reign? Is a man charged with this awful crime not entitled to a fair trial? How else shall his guilt be established? By what criteria shall he be judged, if not by the rules of law, administered in an orderly and impartial way?" (l)

Citing the Golden Rule, the Court urged its audience to avoid "unworthy and dangerous" appeals to racial and class hatreds, found Fite guilty of contempt, and ordered him to pay an undisclosed fine. Cases such as this illustrate the appeal of using the law of newspaper contempt. The rhetorical fluorishes of the opinions indicate a situation where the most powerful interests of the community were perceived to be in jeopardy. (2)

During the Twenties, the doctrine of newspaper contempt continued to be employed as a device by judges to tone down racist attacks in the press. One of the leading cases in this regard was United States v. Sullens, decided by Federal District Judge Holmes of Jackson, Mississippi, in 1929. Frederick Sullens, editor of the Jackson Daily News, published a series of articles concerning the trial of Perry Howard and others for violating a federal law prohibiting the sale of one's influence to secure federal patronage appointments.

Sullens characterized Howard as a black Republican who controlled the federal patronage in the state during the Hoover Administration. A jury composed of white Democrats would never convict Howard, wrote Sullens, because the result would "help to establish a Lily White Republican Party in Mississippi." The prosecution, charged Sullens, had been instituted for the purpose of making it "appear that the Hoover campaign managers wanted to eliminate the negro from political affairs in the South." A jury of loyal Democrats would never permit this to happen, said Sullens, for all of them knew that "the preservation of a white man's government in Mississippi" could never be maintained by anything else than the Democratic Party.

Holmes accepted Sullens' challenge to hold him in contempt, holding that the injection of racial issues into the trial was "destructive of the foundation principles of justice. ... If once the race issue in Mississippi may be used to bring about an acquittal, the next time it may be employed to secure a conviction, which might convert the jurors into a mob." After Sullens apologized, Holmes suspended the imposition of sentence and placed him on probation for a period of five years. (3)

The theme of racial moderation could also be seen in the case of Francis v. People of Virgin Islands, decided by the Third Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1926. The case concerned an article by Rothschild Francis, editor of The Emancipator, published at St. Thomas, that charged incidents of police brutality. A trial judge, George Washington Williams, found Francis guilty of criminal libel, and sentenced him to thirty days in jail. When Francis published an account of his trial that accused the judge of acting "from solely racial and political prejudices," Williams added a second thirty day jail sentence for contempt and fined Francis $100.

The Third Circuit reversed the criminal libel conviction, but upheld the contempt proceeding, finding that "no one who has read the article, and believing its accusations, can ever have confidence in the judgments of the court as presently constituted." The Court found it "plain that the defendant intended to prejudice, and did prejudice, the court in the public mind and particularly in the mind of the race constituting the major part of the local population." (4)

B. Racial Cases after Bridges

The 1941 decision of the United States Supreme Court in Bridges v. California, which embraced the "clear and present danger" rule, reflected a fundamental change in the law of newspaper contempt. No longer could appellate courts uphold contempt convictions through an assessment of the "reasonable tendency" of the language at issue. Instead, language was to be judged by the "working principle that the substantive evil must be extremely serious and the degree of imminence extremely high before utterances can be punished." (5)

The change was reflected by the result in People of Virgin Islands v. Brodhurst, decided by the Third Circuit in 1945. Brodhurst, the publisher of the St. Croix Avis, of Christiansted, printed an unsigned letter complaining of the "Hitler gang" after a judge dismissed a charge of murder brought against a white game warden who had killed a black man, supposedly in self-defense. The judge, Herman E. Moore, finding that the letter had excited "mob hysteria" against the Court, found Brodhurst guilty of contempt and sentenced him to ten days in jail. The Third Circuit, noting that the letter had been published five days after the charge of murder had been dismissed and, therefore, that the judicial proceeding "obviously could not have been obstructed by it," reversed. (6)

This emphasis on actual interference with the judicial process made convictions for newspaper contempt that survived the appellate process almost impossible to obtain, even in cases that raised difficult racial issues. See, for example, the case of Bates v. State, decided by the

Arkansas Supreme Court in 1946. In that year, Christopher and Daisy Bates, publishers of the Arkansas State Press, directed their attention to a strike conducted by predominantly black workers against the Southern Cotton Oil Company in Little Rock. All but five of the more than one hundred laborers struck. When nonstriker Otha Williams approached the picket line, a group of strikers surrounded him, and Walter Campbell hit Williams with a stick. Williams retaliated by drawing a pocket knife and opened a blade with his teeth. Campbell died and Williams spent seventeen days in a hospital. A grand jury refused to indict Williams for murder, but did indict three of the strikers for unlawful assembly. After a trial, the three strikers were sentenced to one year in prison.

The headline in the Arkansas State Press read: "Strikers Sentenced to Pen by Hand-Picked Jury." The text compared the strikers, who were "guilty of no greater crime than walking on a picket line," to Williams, who was characterized as the "scab who killed a striker" and had gone free. For this article, Christopher and Daisy Bates were arrested, fined $100 apiece, and sentenced to ten days in jail. The convictions of the strikers, along with Mr. and Mrs. Bates, were eventually reversed by the

Arkansas Supreme Court, which appeared to embrace the "clear and present danger" rule. (7) Sixteen years later, in 1962, as the conflict over civil rights reached a crescendo, the Arkansas Supreme Court disavowed its decision in the Bates case, saying that the "case must be and is hereby limited to its own particular facts and the situation there existing." (8)

Despite the difficulties of sustaining convictions for newspaper contempt on appeal, contempt by publication remained a potent legal doctrine during the Fifties. The case that promised to reestablish the doctrine's respectability was Maryland v. Baltimore Radio Show, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1950.

In the summer of 1948, an eleven-year-old girl was stabbed to death while playing with two other children in a Baltimore neighborhood. A 31-year-old black man named Eugene James was arrested three days later, admitted killing the girl, and showed police where the murder weapon was buried. It turned out that James had recently been released from the Maryland Penitentiary after serving eight years of a ten-year sentence for assaulting a twelve-year-old girl.

Newspapers published in Baltimore withheld information concerning James's prison record and confession, but several Baltimore radio stations carried full and exaggerated reports. The progress of other criminal investigations involving James was reported -- including the probe of the murder of an eleven-year-old girl in Washington D.C.'s Rock Creek Park who had been dragged from her bicycle and slashed to death.

James entered a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity and submitted to trial before the court, which found him guilty and sentenced him to death. During subsequent contempt proceedings, prosecutors attempted to establish that the radio broadcasts had affected the decision by James's attorneys to try the case before a judge rather than a jury. One of the attorneys testified: "I did not feel that I could have picked a jury that had not been infected, so to speak, by the knowledge of this man's confession and his criminal background."

Judge John B. Gray, Jr., of Baltimore's Criminal Court, found the radio stations guilty of contempt, holding that the broadcasts "must have had an indelible effect upon the public mind ... that was bound to follow the members of the panel into the jury room." Gray believed that the radio broadcasts had deprived James of his Constitutional right to have an impartial jury trial. Gray found alternatives available to James's attorneys to be ineffective. Many parts of the state had been blanketed by the radio broadcasts, ruling out a change of venue. Asking prospective jurors whether they had heard and could disregard the broadcasts would result in "driving just one more nail into James' coffin." (9)

The appeal of the contempt convictions attracted appearances from lawyers representing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and the National Association of Broadcasters. Lawyers representing the American Civil Liberties Union urged that the convictions be reversed; the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee argued the opposite. (10) In 1949, the Maryland Court of Appeals reversed, finding that "the broadcasts did not create such a clear and present danger as to meet the constitutional test." The majority quoted Justice Black's opinion in the Bridges case: "If there was electricity in the atmosphere, it was generated by the facts," not by the "explicit statement of them."

An eloquent dissent was filed by Judge Charles Markell. However guilty James was of this terrible crime, he had been denied his Sixth Amendment right to trial by jury due to racial prejudice "inevitably aroused by these broadcasts." The radio had portrayed James as a "mad dog." The "mad dog" stereotype "may have no logical relation to racial prejudice," wrote Markell, "but prejudice is not logical." A white man charged with similar crimes would not have been viewed in this way. A change of venue to a homogeneous rural community would have resulted in "more intense", racial prejudice, in Markell's view. "The more rural the community, perhaps the fewer competing interests to distract attention from the radio. ... Flight from the radio is futile." (II)

The Baltimore Radio Show case appeared to provide an ideal opportunity for the United States Supreme Court to reconsider its position in the area of contempt by publication. None of the three cases decided by the Court during the Forties in this area had concerned a defendant's Sixth Amendment right to an impartial jury. "If jurors could be shown more susceptible to influence than judges, then the same comment which constituted no danger in ... one instance could still be found a danger in the other." (12)

In January, 1950, the Supreme Court denied certiorari. Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote an extensive opinion concerning the denial, noting that "this Court has not yet adjudicated ... the limits that the Fourteenth Amendment places upon the power of States to safeguard the fair administration of criminal justice by jury trial from mutilation or distortion by extraneous influences." Frankfurter's opinion did not mention the fact of James's race. Instead, Frankfurter focussed on the disparity betwen English and American law, citing a 1949 case in which the London Daily Mirror was fined 10,000 pounds and its editor sentenced to three months in prison after the newspaper published articles describing an accused murderer as a "vampire" and detailing other murders that he was alleged to have committed. (13)

The response of the law journals to the Baltimore Radio Show decision was mixed. A comment in the University of Chicago Law Review argued that the decision of Maryland's Court of Appeals to reverse Judge Gray's finding of contempt "will effectively foreclose any significant protection of pending trials ... if adopted generally as a rule of law." (14) The Yale Law Journal pointed out that contempt by publication was now an archaic remedy due to the "inability of state courts to control out-of-state media. ... Thus in the Baltimore Radio case the lower court was powerless to do anything about reports reaching Baltimore from newspapers and radio stations in Washington, D.C." (15)

For some, Frankfurter's opinion was seen as encouraging state court judges "to revive summary punishment for comments which raise only the possibility of obstructing justice." Others recommended targeting contempt prosecutions to trial participants -- police, parties, attorneys, and jurors -- who could be directed by trial court judges, court rules, or legislation not to release certain facts and opinions before or during litigation. (16) A note in the Harvard Law Review proposed disbarment proceedings as a response to lawyers who violated ethical canons by speaking to the press. Courts were advised to exclude reporters who did not agree in advance to conform to a code of reporting ethics. (17)

"The pendulum in the United States has swung to the side of unbridled license of the press to publish what it sees fit." (18) The truth of such a conclusion could be demonstrated not only by the Baltimore Radio Show case, but also by Shepherd v. Florida, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1951. A seventeen-year-old white girl had reported that she had been raped by four black men at the point of a pistol. One suspect was killed resisting arrest. Another, a minor, was convicted with a recommendation of mercy. The other two defendants were convicted and sentenced to death.

Local newspapers reported that the defendants had confessed, although no confessions were offered at trial. Mobs demanded that the suspects be turned over to them. Three homes in the black community, including the home of Shepherd's parents, were burned. "Negroes were removed from the community to prevent their being lynched." Before the trial, the defendants were transferred from the county jail to the state prison for safekeeping. Ultimately, the National Guard and the 116th Field Artillery headquartered in Tampa were called in to restore order.

The newspapers reported these events under headlines such as "Flames From Negro Homes Light Night Sky in Lake County." A cartoon published during the grand jury investigation depicted four electric chairs and the headline: "No Compromise -- Supreme Penalty." Motions for a trial continuance and for a change of venue were denied by the trial judge. In affirming the convictions, the Florida Supreme Court asserted: "The inflamed public sentiment was against the crime with which the appellants were charged rather than defendant's race."

The U.S. Supreme Court reversed, holding that the method of jury selection discriminated against blacks. Justice Robert Jackson, with Frankfurter concurring, filed a separate opinion arguing that "this trial took place under conditions and was accompanied by events which would deny defendants a fair trial before any kind of jury." The case, wrote Jackson, "presents one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice."(19)

Legal commentators identified this "menace" as irresponsible newspaper reporting. The power of courts to summarily punish such reporting as contempt was equated by a note in the Iowa Law Review with "the court's historic struggle to exercise control over press coverage," which had now been "compromised" by decisions recognizing a "virtual immunity for the press." (20) One article, by Richard Mullaney in a 1959 edition of the Albany Law Review, charged that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in Bridges v. California had created the "intolerable results" of Shepherd v. Florida. (21)

C. Wood v. Georgia

By the end of the Fifties the future of the doctrine of newspaper contempt appeared to be far from settled. A note in a 1959 edition of Notre Dame Lawyer argued: "It remains to conjecture whether the [U.S. Supreme] court would be as rigorous in cases involving juries as it has been in appeals from cases tried solely to the court." (22) Frankfurter continued to raise questions concerning the "clear and present danger" rule. "I remain unreconciled, as long as I live, to the notion that the right of talking takes precedence over the duty to conduct trials in the only way they can be conducted fairly," he announced during the oral argument of a case in 1957. (23)

In 1959, Judge Durwood T. Pye of the Fulton County Superior Court fined Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., publisher of The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution, $20,000 after articles were published describing an accused armed robberer and murderer as a "several-time loser" and "Georgia's most wanted man." Although the contempt conviction was reversed by Georgia's appellate courts, the Georgia Court of Appeals accused the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court of "placing the guarantee of freedom of press above the right of a speedy public trial by an impartial jury." (24)

In 1960, a judge in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, fined Medgar Evers $100 and sentenced him to thirty days in jail after Evers criticized the verdict of a jury in a burglary case. The accused burglar, civil rights organizer Clyde Kennard, had applied to be admitted to the University of Southern Mississippi, and was framed for conspiracy to steal chicken-feed instead. Evers, who was Field Secretary for the N.A.A.C.P. in Mississippi, issued a statement calling the verdict "the greatest mockery [to] justice. ... In a court room of segregationists apparently resolved to put Kennard 'legally away'", Evers continued, "the all-white jury found Kennard guilty as charged in only 10 minutes."

The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed Evers' conviction, holding that the burglary case had been concluded at the time Evers' statement was published. The Court's Chief Justice, however, filed a separate opinion arguing that the legal principles involved in the case tended "to encourage such agitators as Medgar Evers to unjustly criticize our courts at will in the future upon the theory that he has a license from this Court to do so." (25)

The final pronouncement of the U.S. Supreme Court on the doctrine of newspaper contempt concerned racial issues. James I. Wood, Sheriff of Bibb County, Georgia, was cited for contempt after writing news releases criticizing the action of local judges in ordering a grand-jury investigation of "negro block voting." Wood had been elected as a Democrat, but switched to the Republican Party in 1960. He declined renomination to the position of sheriff, but planned to devote his retirement to building the county Republican Party. (26)

Wood, who had won office with substantial black support, accused the judges of "race baiting" by dusting off an old law against hiring workers for political canvassing. If the judges truly wished to enforce the law, wrote Wood, "then let us start by indicting our U.S. Senators, Congressmen, and Governors and almost all elected State officials."

Wood called the judges' order, which was issued at the height of a contested Democratic primary for the position he held, "a crude attempt at judicial intimidation of negro voters and leaders. ... Negro people," he said, will find little difference in principle between attempted intimidation of their people by judicial summons and inquiry and attempted intimidation by physical demonstration such as used by the K.K.K. ... This is the type of political-legal action which brings down ridicule and demands for civil rights legislation against the South." (27)

For these statements, Wood was fined $600 and sentenced to twenty days in jail. Two of the three contempt convictions were upheld by the Georgia Court of Appeals, and, after the Georgia Supreme Court refused to review the case, a writ of certiorari was granted by the U.S. Supreme Court. In June, 1962, the Supreme Court reversed Wood's convictions with two dissenting votes. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Earl Warren noted that the Georgia Court of Appeals "did not indicate in any manner how the publications interfered with the grand jury's investigation, or with the administration of justice." Warren also found the timing of the dispute to be important. "The petitioner was an elected official and had the right to enter the field of political controversy," Warren wrote, "particularly where his political life was at stake." (28)

Wood v. Georgia provided a conclusion to the discussion of contempt by publication as a coherent legal doctrine. The Supreme Court shifted emphasis from the summary punishment of purported newspaper interference with the judicial process to tinkering with the internal mechanisms of the criminal justice system. As Justice William O. Douglas explained in 1960: "The point is that our remedy for excessive comment by the press is not the punishment of editors, but the granting of new trials, changes in venue, or continuances to parties who are prejudiced." (29)

There was still the matter of "gag orders" -- the power of a judge to bar or condition the publication of accounts of a pending trial. Although such orders were "presumptively invalid" as prior restraints, the Court refused to issue a flat rule barring them in the landmark 1976 case of Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart. As the law now stands, publishers may not disregard even a transparently invalid gag order without making a good faith effort to seek emergency appellate relief. (30)

Wood v. Georgia effectively disposed of the inherent power of a judge to attempt to protect the trial process by holding an offending publication in contempt. Following Wood v. Georgia, state supreme courts that had not already disposed of the doctrine fell in line. (3l)

It seems fitting that the fall of the doctrine was announced in a case centering on racial issues. In early cases, the doctrine was employed in the protection of the judicial process from racist attacks. After Bridges, an attempt was made to revive the doctrine by equating its use with the defense of the judicial process against racial stereotypes. This effort failed in the Baltimore Radio Show case, not because the judicial process was able to focus clearly on racial issues, but because the Supreme Court refused to polarize the issue of free speech versus fair trials. In the words of Justice Black, if free speech and fair trials were really in conflict, "it would be a trying task to choose between them." (32)

The final demise of contempt by publication became possible when civil liberties became identified with civil rights -- with the crusade for racial justice. The question that Frankfurter failed to ask in l950, when he ignored the racial dynamics that were present in the Baltimore Radio Show case, was impossible to overlook in l962. In Wood v. Georgia, the doctrine was being used to silence a critic of race-baiting. This use, in the context of the moment, was too preposterous to ignore.

NOTES

1. In re Fite, 76 S.E. 397, 399, 402, 407-08, 419 (Ga.App. 1912).

2. For this insight, see Walter Nelles and Carol Weiss King, "Contempt by Publication in the United States," 28 Columbia Law Review 525, 540 (1928).

3. United States v. Sullens, 36 F.2d 230-33, 238-39 (1929).

4. Francis v. People of Virgin Islands, 11 F.2d 860, 864-65 (3rd Cir. 1926).

5. Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. 252, 263, 268-69 (1941). See Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States, 247 U.S. 402, 419, 421 (1918), for an articulation of the "reasonable tendency" rule.

6. People of Virgin Islands v. Brodhurst, 148 F.2d 636, 638, 644 (3rd Cir. 1945).

7. Bates v. State, 197 S.W.2d 45-47 (Ark. 1946). For details of the strike and ensuing violence, see Cole v. State, 196 S.W.2d 582 (Ark. 1946). See also Daisy Bates, The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir, pp. 40-43 (David McKay Co., 1962). The trial judge in the contempt case, Lawrence C. Auten, refused to grant an appeal bond. Mr. and Mrs. Bates were jailed for seven hours before an Arkansas Supreme Court justice [Griffin Smith] granted supersedeas and a writ of certiorari.

8. Tupy v. State, 354 S.W.2d 728, 730 (Ark. 1962). This case upheld a $25 fine against the distributor of a pamphlet accusing a grand jury of "white washing" an investigation of county courthouse officials.

9. For the background of this case, see Baltimore Radio Show v. State, 67 A.2d 497, 500-04 (Md.App. 1949). For Judge Gray's opinion, see Maryland v. Baltimore Radio Show, 338 U.S. 912-16 (1950).

10. Baltimore Radio Show v. State, 67 A.2d at 499-500; Note, "Contempt by Publication," 59 Yale Law Journal 534-35, n.5 (1950).

11. Baltimore Radio Show v. State, 67 A.2d at 509, 511, 513, 517.

12. 59 Yale Law Journal at 536.

13. Maryland v. Baltimore Radio Show, 338 U.S. at 920, 930-32.

14. Comment, "Free Speech vs. The Fair Trial in the English and American Law of Contempt by Publication," 17 University of Chicago Law Review 540, 550 (1950).

15. 59 Yale Law Journal at 544, n. 54.

16. 59 Yale Law Journal at 538; 544-45.

17. Note, "Controlling Press and Radio Influence on Trials," 63 Harvard Law Review 840, 851-53 (1950).

18. Thomas S. Schattenfield, "Judicial Independence and Freedom of the Press," 6 Western Reserve Law Review 175, 180 (1955).

19. Shepherd v. Florida, 341 U.S. 50 (1951).

20. Note, "Freedom of the Press -- A Menace to Justice?" 37 Iowa Law Review 249, 255 (1952).

21. Richard Mullaney, "A Re-examination of Bridges v. California," 23 Albany Law Review 61, 64-65 (1959).

22. Note by Thomas L. Schaffer, 35 Notre Dame Lawyer 165-66 (1959).

23. During oral argument of In re Sawyer, 360 U.S. 622 (1957); see 1958 U.S. Law Week 3331, 3332.

24. Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. v. State, 113 S.E.2d 148-50; 152-53 (Ga. App. 1960); 116 S.E.2d 580 (Ga. 1960). For more material on Judge Pye, see John Lofton, Justice and the Press, pp. 265-66 (Beacon Press, 1966).

25. Evers v. State, 131 So.2d 653-54 (Miss. 1961). For the burglary case, in which the defense attempted to raise the issue of the systematic exclusion of Blacks from juries, see Kennard v. State, 128 So.2d 572 (Miss. 1961). For Kennard, who developed cancer while in Parchman Prison and who died shortly after he was released in 1963, see John R. Salter, Jr., Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Schism, pp. 12, 59, 83 (Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1987).

26. D. Grier Stephenson, Jr., "The Appellate Judiciary of Georgia and Contempt of Court," 2 Georgia Law Review 341, 364 (1968).

27. Wood v. State, 119 S.E.2d 261, 266 (Ga.App. 1961).

28. Wood v. Georgia, 370 U.S. 375, 387, 394-95 (1962). The two dissenting votes came from Harlan and Clark.

29. William O. Douglas, "The Public Trial and the Free Press," 46 ABA Journal 840-41 (1960).

30. See Sigmon L. Splichal, "When Judicial Authority and the First Amendment Collide: A Publishers' Dilemma," 3 University of Florida Journal of Law and Public Policy 85 (1990). See also Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart, 427 U.S. 539 (1976); and Matter of Providence Journal Company, 820 F.2d 1342 (1st Cir. 1986).

31. For state cases after Wood v. Georgia, see People v. Post Standard Company, 239 N.Y.S.2d 198 (N.Y.App. 1963); 195 N.E.2d 48 (N.Y. 1963); State v. Morris, 406 P.2d 349 (N.M. 1965); State v. Conley, 153 S.E.2d 681 (W.Va. 1966); Worcester Telegram & Gazette, Inc. v. Commonwealth, 238 N.E.2d 861 (Mass. 1968); and In re Turner, 174 N.W.2d 895 (Mich.App. 1969).

32. Bridges v. California, 314 U.S. at 260.

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THE GLASS HOUSES OF THE COLD WAR: THE AMERICAN PRESS AND RACIAL PROBLEMS ON THE WORLD STAGE

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Abstract

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On March 12, 1947, President Harry Truman gave a speech which has come to be called his "declaration of Cold War" or the Truman Doctrine. Truman's speech committed the nation to stopping the spread of communism by promoting American-style democracy and the imperative of freedom around the world, while debunking the promises of communism and blocking its spread.

However, the American creed by which the nation sought to lead the world had a glaring failure--the ongoing, sometimes violent and very visible struggle for equal rights by black Americans. This struggle became a focus of national attention as revealed in American press coverage of foreign reaction and commentary on U.S. race relations; similarly the press would reveal that the United States responded by chiding those nations that criticized U.S. racial troubles while ignoring their own minority problems.

Thus, American racial problems became, in the U.S. press, yet another symbol in the Cold War struggle. The adage that "people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones" provides the context for understanding the way this symbol was presented in the press during the Cold War. The publications studied are the news magazines (*Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News and World Report*), the *New York Times,* and five African-American newspapers (the Atlanta *Daily World,* the Baltimore *Afro-American,* the Chicago *Defender,* the Norfolk *Journal and Guide,* and the *Pittsburgh Courier*). In these publications can be seen the use of a significant Cold War weapon, the throwing of stones both at the United States and by the United States on the issue of race.

THE GLASS HOUSES OF THE COLD WAR: THE AMERICAN PRESS AND RACIAL PROBLEMS ON THE WORLD STAGE

Cold war has been defined as "a state of relations between states or social systems characterized by a constant policy of reciprocated hostility in which. . . armed force is not employed." Further, it is a war of uncertain terrain: "the principal 'encounters' have. . .been battles fought among symbols, by energies and institutions which do not directly or overtly impinge upon each other." In the Cold War following World War II, the battleground included the press and the powerful weapons deployed included words that besmirched the image and damaged the prestige of other nations. In this war of words, the rhetoric of speeches and newspaper and magazine stories provided the basis for "an all-encompassing reality that developed out of Soviet-American disputes but eventually transcended them."[1]

Among the significant symbols that emerged in the press during this struggle, this paper will show, was the maltreatment of non-white people, especially the unequal status of African-Americans in the United States. The black struggle for equality in the United States was not simply a domestic phenomenon; rather it became a focus of international concern. It was recognized as such in American press coverage of foreign reaction to and commentary about U.S. race relations—even in those instances in which American newspapers and magazines chided the critics of American bigotry for ignoring their own racial troubles. Thus the context for understanding the ordering and presentation of this symbol by the press during the Cold War is the adage that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

The term "cold war" seems first to have been used publicly to describe the post-World War II period by Bernard M. Baruch, President Truman's appointee to the United Nations

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[1] On the attributes of cold wars, see David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), pp. 30, 447, 449. On the rhetoric of the Cold War, see Lynn Boyd Hinds and Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., *The Cold War as Rhetoric: The Beginnings, 1945-1950* (New York: Praeger, 1991), pp. xiii, xix.

Atomic Energy Commission and a former adviser to Presidents Wilson, Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Let us not be deceived," Baruch said in a speech on April 16, 1947, "we are today in the midst of a cold war. Our enemies are to be found abroad and at home. . . .The peace of the world is the hope and the goal of our political system; it is the despair and defeat of those who stand against us. We can depend only on ourselves." The notion that Americans must depend "only on ourselves" was consistent with the position in which they found themselves after the war. U.S. citizens had answered the call to mobilization; their military commanders had proven themselves equal to the task of fighting the greatest war in human history; their leaders had demanded and received unconditional surrender; their scientists had perfected weaponry hitherto undreamt of, including the superbomb, and the workers and industrialists of America had produced the tools of war with extraordinary rapidity and in staggering quantities. The exhilaration of postwar prosperity and the sense of omnipotence brought on by victory and the possession of the atomic bomb made the United States confident in its new-found position of world leadership. Most of the U.S. allies had been left exhausted by the war. In April of 1945, long before the idea of containment had been articulated, President Truman stated that the U.S. should "take the lead in running the world in the way that the world ought to be run."[2]

Whatever Truman's intention, after World War II, being an American seemed to mean being in command and having genuine choices and possibilities—in short, being free. Then, on February 21, 1947, Britain informed the United States that it could no longer provide aid to Greece and Turkey in their struggle against communism. American response came in the form of a speech by Truman, on March 12, 1947, which has come to be called his "declaration of Cold War" or the Truman Doctrine. In this speech, Truman committed the nation to stopping the spread of communism and warned that "'nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life'"—the free and the totalitarian. "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.'"[3]

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[2] Richard J. Walton, *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1976), pp. 322-323. Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), pp. 142, 138-139.

However, the American creed by which the nation sought to lead the world had a glaring failure—the ongoing, sometimes violent, usually very visible struggle—especially in American newspapers—for equal rights by black Americans. American racial problems became, in the U.S. press, yet another symbol in the Cold War struggle. That this should happen is not surprising. Much of the scholarship that deals with the period observes that the press was not an adversary to government but rather a cooperative and at times eager participant in the construction of the Cold War political climate that existed in America. That climate was built around a shared belief that America had a major role to play in the leadership of the world and a moral obligation to play it. This role consisted of promoting American-style democracy and the imperative of freedom around the world, while debunking the promises of communism and blocking its spread.[4]

This study examines how American press coverage situated U.S. racial relations in the context of the Cold War. It focuses on the print media, which played a greater role than did broadcasting media in communicating news and information for most of the years under study—1947 through 1965, the year of the Truman Doctrine through the year the Voting Rights Act became law. The publications studied are the three major news magazines (*Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News & World Report*), which did not so much report the news as interpret it; the New York *Times*, which regarded itself, not without reason, as the newspaper of record in the United States; and five African-American newspapers (the Atlanta *Daily World*, the Baltimore *Afro-American*, the Chicago *Defender*, the Norfolk

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[3] Quoted in Christopher Lasch, "Introduction" to *Cold War Essays*, ed. Gar Alperovitz (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1969), p. 12. Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1975* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1976), p. 50. Quoted in David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), pp. 547-548.

[4] See, e.g., James Aronson, *The Press and the Cold War* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1970); Edwin Bayley, *Joe McCarthy and the Press* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Pamela A. Brown, "Constructing the Cultural Curtain: The Meaning of Cold War in York, Pennsylvania, Daily Newspapers, 1947-1962," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983); Caute, *The Great Fear*; Richard M. Freeland, *The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972); Hodgson, *America in Our Time*; Walton, *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman and the Cold War.*

Journal and Guide, and the Pittsburgh *Courier*), all of which had regional editions around the nation and commented on national and international issues as well as local ones. In these publications can be seen the use of a significant Cold War weapon. In the first theme appear reports about the throwing of stones *at* the United States as a result of the issue of race; in the second theme the American publications hurl stones at nations critical of the United States, accusing them of ignoring bigotry against their own minorities while loudly proclaiming the injustice of American discrimination.

STONES HURLED AT U.S.

Two major strains appeared in the first theme. These publications addressed the embarrassing question for the United States: how could the "arsenal of democracy" harbor legions of racists? Furthermore, the newspapers and magazines cited the valuable contributions that American racial strife made to Communist propaganda.

An early expression of concern over the relationship between what America professed to stand for and its treatment of black citizens came in early 1947. A Norfolk *Journal and Guide* editorial warned that "the outlook is grim not only for the colored minority, but for the future of democracy in this country and the peace of the world....The rest of the world must be pretty confused by some of the goings on in the avowed arsenal of democracy."[5]

The African-American newspapers frequently cited the propaganda problems caused by America's vulnerable glass house. When Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace insisted on appearing before an integrated audiences he was pelted with eggs and tomatoes while campaigning in the South in 1948. The Chicago *Defender* responded with a page one editorial calling the action a violation of 'the most sacred and fundamental principle of our democratic system. As a matter of fact, the greatest difference between our form of government and that of Russia and other dictatorships lies in the principle of free speech." The paper added that the incident "will be used against the United States in the press of the world. The mobsters who egged and stoned Mr. Wallace were, unwittingly or not, acting as agents for the Kremlin"[6]

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[5] "Grim Forebodings in the Georgia Fiasco," *Journal and Guide*, February 1, 1947, p. 6.

It is not surprising that an African-American newspaper would argue that the nation's standing among other countries was harmed by racial incidents at home. However, this argument appeared in the mainstream New York *Times* and in the three newsmagazines. The latter had long since exhibited concern about Soviet Union's propaganda apparatus — even before Truman announced his doctrine. *Newsweek* cited, at the beginning of 1947, Russian propaganda successes "in the fields of disarmament and colonial policy" and said that a "permanent counter-propaganda committee may be set up within the State Department to anticipate Soviet strategy and prepare to meet it." A year later, *Newsweek* columnist Joseph B. Phillips wrote a report about "Soviet hate-mongering" that constituted "an effort on a world scale to create animosity and distrust."[7] Expressions of concern about Soviet propaganda continued into the 1950s and 1960s, often with the message that the United States was lagging in or losing the propaganda war.

Coverage in the New York *Times* focused intensively on propaganda problems that confronted the United States as a result of race. In 1948, for example, a group of Indian women attended a World Conference of Girl Guides and Scouts in the United States. While admitting to discrimination at home, the *Times* reported, the women saw U.S. discrimination as far worse. They concluded that there was less Jim Crowism for India's untouchables than for blacks in the United States. For example, they claimed there was none of the segregation on Indian trains and streetcars that was present in the United States. Foreign reports about American blacks renouncing their U.S. citizenship because it was "'second-class at best'" were also printed. In Prague, a 35-year-old Chicago man who renounced his citizenship, saying: "'I would rather die than go home and shine shoes....I would probably be lynched anyway.'" Insisting that he was not a communist, the man added that in Czechoslovakia "'democracy is practiced, not just preached for external consumption.'"[8]

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[6] "An Editorial," Chicago *Defender*, September 11, 1948, p. 1.

[7] 7"Washington Trends," *Newsweek*, January 13, 1947, p. 16. Joseph B. Phillips, "The Voice of Moscow," *Newsweek*, March 22, 1948, p. 34. Between those two reports was an expose of a "a giant propaganda machine designed to woo the Germans and serve as a super-spy agency for the Soviets." Tony Howard, "The Soviet Suitor and His Propaganda Machine," *Newsweek*, July 14, 1947, p. 34. For similar reports, see "Soviets' Propaganda War," *World Report*, December 23, 1947, p. 26. "Russia's War of Words Against America," *World Report*, January 6, 1948, pp. 22-23; "Creating Inter-American Ties: Steps to a Hemisphere League," *United States News*, February 7, 1947, p. 23; "Mr. Benton's Expanding Job of Advertising the U.S. Through Facts," *United States News*, March 14, 1947, pp. 64, 66, 68. "U.S.-Russian Accord Ahead? Pressure for Co-Operation," *United States News*, March 28, 1947, p. 12.

In the following decade, for the United States, seeking to play the role of defender of world freedom, the treatment of American blacks was a throbbing sore spot at which other nations poked. As a letter writer to the *Times* put it in 1950: "The Negro problem is America's Achilles heel in foreign relations. . . . Americans would be startled if they knew how much space in European publications is devoted to articles which represent lynching as a frequent and widespread feature of American life. ... [W]hite Americans are represented as taking no interest in Negroes except when they organize parties to lynch them." The writer, describing his experience as a "Negro abroad," continued:

> I had a cultivated Englishman ask me if it were true Negroes could not walk on the same sidewalks as white Americans; an Italian teenager understood that Liberia was the place where white Americans were deporting Negroes to rid the country of blacks; an African told me acidly he would rather starve in dignity under British rule than eat without dignity under American rule; and an Arab in Cairo wanted to know if white Americans permit Negroes to speak English."[9]

The African-American papers continued to point to communist propaganda about U.S. racial troubles. One issue was the success of American boxers (mostly black) in the 1952 Olympics. Typical was a report by the *Courier*: "Russian newspapers were quick to remark these colored boys should be competing for Africa and not for America where they are Jim Crowed. If racial discrimination is abolished in the U.S., Russia will not have an argument." A year later the *Afro-American* reported "the latest bit of anti-American propaganda to be served up by the Russians, past masters of the job, is a new color moving showing American businessmen and a general using six colored men as human guinea pigs to test a fearful secret war weapon." That same day's Chicago *Defender* reported a speech by CIO President Walter Reuther citing the use by Communists of U.S. racial problems while noting the "tremendous moral gap between democracy's noble promises and its ugly performances. 'Communists exploit and exploit and exploit the double standard of citizenship which we tolerate in America'"[10]

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[8] "More Bias In U.S., Indian Women Say," New York *Times*, August 22, 1948, p. 38. Seven years later the *Times* told of a speech by an Indian clergyman who did not acknowledge any troubles at home while declaring he was "'revolted'" by a segregated worship service he witnessed in Atlanta. He stated that "neither American democracy nor American Christianity could be taken seriously so long as racial segregation was common practice in many areas" of the nation. George Dugan, "Race Bias Scored by Indian Cleric," New York *Times*, December 6, 1955, p. 33. Dana Adams Schmidt, "Negro in Prague Gives Up U.S. Citizenship; Cites 'Undignified Treatment' in America," New York *Times*, June 7, 1949, p. 4.

[9] "Envoys of Good-Will," New York *Times*, January 1, 1950, IV p. 6.

Sometimes one stone led the other side to toss another. In March of 1953 the United States criticized Poland for its lack of individual freedom due to its domination "'by a single totalitarian political party'" *The Times* reported that the Poles responded by accusing the United States of "oppressing minorities and discriminating against foreigners." In a note, the Polish government made charges of 'racial oppression' of Negroes in this country, of 'increasing terror practiced against the progressive and peace-loving individuals and organizations' of a 'network of spies and informers' in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of 'notorious activities' of certain Congressional investigating activities, and of 'laws against foreigners'--the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act--that are 'not encountered in any other country.'[11]

Another element of the theme, the competition between the United States and the Soviet states for the loyalties of the new nations, was raised in reports of a 1956 speech by Hulan E. Jack, a Manhattan borough president who was black; as reported by the *Times*. Jack told an audience of African-American lawyers:

> We cannot afford at this critical stage of international affairs to give aid to enemies of democracy....If we are to retain world leadership as the symbol of freedom, we must set our own house in order as rapidly as possible to command the respect of awakening men [the peoples throwing off the bonds of colonialism] desiring to walk on an equal basis with all mankind.[12]

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[10] "Olympic Victories," Pittsburgh *Courier*, August 9, 1952, p. 4. "Lose Olympics, See Red, So...Russ Take Poke at U.S. Bias," Chicago *Defender*, August 9, 1952, p. 1. "Communists Peck at Imperfections," Chicago *Defender*, October 31, 1953, p. 2. "Reds Use Racial Theme in Anti-American Film," Baltimore *Afro-American*, October 31, 1953, p. 2.

[11] "Poland Again Lays Espionage to U.S.," New York *Times*, March 22, 1953, p. 34.

[12] "Jack Welcomes Negro Bar Group," New York *Times*, August 31, 1956, p. 36.

A series of articles in the *Times* dealt with the consequences of the refusal of the University of Alabama to readmit Autherine J. Lucy in 1956. A Soviet delegate to the United Nations compared the incident to cases in South Africa. The *Times* noted that "the exclusion of the Negro from the university has received much more attention in the European press than have the various recent actions of the government of the Union of South Africa to increase the amount of racial segregation in that country."[13]

The response went beyond Europe. The *Times'* monitoring of world press opinion found that Lucy's name "has become a familiar name in Latin America." It added:

> There can be no question that the case of Miss Lucy and other incidents related to segregation problems in the South have harmed the prestige of the United States in this part of the world. The issue has been seized gleefully by Communists and non-Communist enemies and critics of the United States and has been a cause of concern to its friends....Many Latin Americans who resent criticism by the United States of dictatorial regimes in this region have taken the position that so long as the United States is not able to bring "true democracy" to its own backyard it has no moral right to censure the behavior of others.[14]

Later in the year, the *Times* noted that the Lucy case, an assault on singer Nat King Cole, and the murder of Emmett Till, were "all front-page news items in newspapers all over Southeast Asia. Even obscure incidents of racial violence in the South of the United States are played up in the press here." A U.S. Information Service employee told the *Times* : "'Every time I have a get-together of Asian students I have to spend a good part of the time trying to explain away the treatment of the Negroes in the United States. I can't do a very good job of explaining it either.'"[15]

The French were quite critical of American racial practices. In the higher reaches of government, the criticism was motivated, at least in part, by the awkwardness of French problems in Algeria. A *Newsweek* correspondent filed this report to his magazine:

> The French Attorney General begins any discussion about Algeria by pulling out of his desk a fat file of press clippings detailing U.S. racial incidents. Emmett Till and Autherine Lucy are his favorites. No American newsman can get one question in without being held personally responsible for "America's racist attitude." One more question and the American is upbraided for the fate of

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[13] Michael L. Hoffman, "Lucy Case Draws Soviet Criticism," New York *Times*, March 17, 1956, p. 10.

[14] "Latin Americans React," New York *Times*, March 17, 1956, p. 10.

[15] Robert Alden, "Bias In U.S. Makes Headlines In Asia," New York *Times*, April 29, 1956, p. 7.

> the "redskins": "You Americans are lucky to have no native problem. You killed off all your Indians. But we French are too humane to do that here."[16]

The American glass house, as viewed from Africa, was also cited by Vice President Richard Nixon. Concern over relations with Africa and Asia was evident in remarks he made after returning from Africa. Nixon was reported to have stated that U. S. relations with Africa should have a higher priority "'because what happens there may decide the world struggle between freedom and communism. . . . We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States.'" Echoing that assessment was an article in the Atlanta *Daily World*. It cited a U.S. senator's worry over how racial injustice affected the nation's attempt to woo the emerging nations: "The implications in terms of world leadership of a situation like [the desegregation crisis in 1957 at] Little Rock are 'most pronounced' in efforts to win the support of billions of yellow and black people of the free world in Asia and Africa."[17]

The intensity of the symbolism increased during the 1960s, the decade during which occurred most of the major public dramas of the civil rights movement in the United States.

In a 1960 speech at the United Nations, Khrushchev was reported in the *Times* to have "bitterly attacked the United States for its alleged policies of racial discrimination and Negro lynching." He implied that representatives of African nations would not be allowed to get a hotel room without diplomatic documents. Such insults to human dignity, he said, were "commonplace" in America, along with lynchings and segregated schools. In a separate story, the *Times* provided reaction to Khrushchev's comments from the African U.N. delegates. "They have been having their troubles in New York City," the *Times* conceded, but most agreed that Khrushchev had overstated the situation. Still, a black U.S. delegate to the U.N. was quoted as saying it was true that if "some of these delegates do not have something that identifies them as Africans, they will be treated like American Negroes."[18]

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[16] "The Bitter Choice," *Newsweek*, February 27, 1956, pp. 41-42.

[17] "Can't Preach Equality in Africa if It Isn't In U. S., Nixon Tells Eisenhower," Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, April 13, 1957, p. 1. "Grim Forebodings in the Georgia Fiasco," *Journal and Guide*, February 1, 1947, p. 6. Loui Lautier, "Free World's Peace is Seen At Stake In Struggle for Rights," Atlanta *Daily World*, July 11, 1958, pp 1, 6.

A 1961 civil rights campaign conducted in Albany, Georgia, by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., led tBritish newspapers to condemn American racial conditions. James Reston described their content as follows: "The newspapers here are full of pictures of the Negroes praying in the streets of Albany, Ga., before being herded off in hundreds into Georgia jails." Reston added that the rise of Africans and Asians backed by Communists "ironically, seems to make the British not more sympathetic to American racial problems but more critical of American policy for going too slow with the American Negro and too fast with the African Negro. . . ." The critics included "some of the most influential officials in the western world."[19]

When G. Mennen Williams, assistant secretary for African affairs, made a political slip in a statement in Nairobi, Kenya, by saying the United States supported "Africa for Africans" he caused a "wave of controversy." Though Williams later explained he meant all Africans regardless of color or race, AFRICA FOR AFRICANS was the slogan of the African nationalists and was viewed as threatening by white Africans colonists. The African press was filled with articles. "Attacks on the United States ranged from references to Little Rock to questions about the plight of American Indians." The *Times* noted that one writer said of Williams: "'I suggest that his talents might be better employed in the southern states of America in bringing about an "America for Americans" of all races.'" Another writer, citing photographs of Williams posing with black African leaders, mused: "'One wonders. . .if he would have posed so enthusiastically had the venue been Little Rock or Miami?'" Three months later, the *Times* reported that South African Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw "said the New York *Times* had accused South Africa of self-righteousness at the same time that the United States was having race riots in Louisiana which had been preceded by those in Little Rock, Arkansas."[20]

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[18] Lindesay Parrott, "Khrushchev Warns U.N. of War Peril over China Issue," New York *Times*, October 2, 1960, p. 35).

[19] James Reston, "London," New York *Times*, December 15, 1961, p. 36.

[20] "Nairobi In Furor Over Williams," New York *Times*, March 5, 1961, p. 10."South African Critical," New York *Times*, June 8, 1961, p. 11.

The desegregation crisis at the University of Mississippi in 1962 was news around the world. *Times* columnist C. L. Sulzberger wrote in October of that year:

> It is simply impossible to champion the downtrodden overseas while permitting a second class of citizenship at home in the land of liberty. The bulk of this world, colored differently from those who block progress in our South, is keenly aware of this, regardless of differences on other ideas....Time and again Communist propaganda has been able to seize upon the issue, obscuring other problems behind it....The Mississippi tragedy occurred at a peculiarly embarrassing moment. Once again the U.N. is meeting in New York and its principal officials come from what Mississippi hooligans might consider inferior stock. Journalists from African and Asian states need no Communist incitements to cable home emotional accounts....The essence of our foreign policy is civil rights for all the earth."[21]

Later, in a story in the *Times*, Premier Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria warned that the United States could lose its "'moral and political voice' in the world" if it did not "grapple with segregation problems here in a forthright manner. [He sees a] direct relationship between the injustices of colonialism and the injustices of segregation here....[He] noted that these problems were widely publicized in Algeria, and in Africa generally."[22]

Colonialism and discrimination also were linked by a Pittsburgh *Courier* columnist, who warned that "today it's not England, France, Portugal, or Holland that stands out as the foremost supporter of white supremacy, but our own United States. It can be so easily—and unscrupulously—exploited by unfriendly propaganda abroad."[23]

In the *Times*, African nations became the most vocal about U.S. race problems in the period from 1961 through 1965. Much of the criticism arose after Martin Luther King's civil rights campaign in Birmingham in 1963.

The *Times* published an interpretive piece analyzing a four-day meeting in Ethiopa of representatives of African nations in 1963. It stated: "The Birmingham demonstrations, violence and jailings are much on the delegates' minds....In recent days American observers have been dismayed to hear Alabama linked with South Africa in attacks on apartheid....To report that the commentaries treated the United States harshly may be an understatement." The *Times* went on to cite the *Ethiopian Herald*: "'The United States is campaigning on a free-world slogan and is condemning the racist government of South Africa while practicing its own version of apartheid. What happened in Birmingham last week shows the United States in its true light.'" Further, the *Times* quoted the government-owned *Nigerian Morning Post* to the effect that in both the United States and South Africa racial discrimination "'was the general pattern, while in Eastern Europe it was the exception.'" The writer concluded that the difference between the two nations on the race issue was on paper only. [24]

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[21] C.L. Sulzberger, "Foreign Affairs: The Foreign Policy of Mississippi," New York *Times*, October 3, 1962, p. 40.

[22] Thomas P. Ronan, "Ben Bella Links Two 'Injustices,'" New York *Times*, October 14, 1962, p. 20.

[23] J.A. Rogers, "History Show," Pittsburgh *Courier*, January 6, 1962, p. 26.

The *Times* reported that Ugandan Prime Minister Milton Obote made public a letter he sent to President Kennedy "deploring the 'most inhuman treatment' of Negroes" in Birmingham. Obote added that the eyes of the world were "'concentrated on events in Alabama and it is the duty of the free world, and more so of countries that hold themselves up as leaders of the free world, to see that all their citizens, regardless of color, are free.'" Two days later the *Times* reported that 30 African states had adopted a resolution stating "'deep concern'" over racial discrimination in the world, especially the situation in the United States.'"[25] A few weeks later the *Times* noted that an editorial in the *Ghanian Times* scornfully proposed to send an African Peace Corps to the United States "on a 'civilizing mission' to help resolve racial unrest."[26]

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[24] Jay Walz, "Africans Decry Race Bias In U.S.," New York *Times*, May 19, 1963, p. 14; "Nigerian Writer Derides U.S. Desegregation Laws," New York *Times*, May 19, 1963, p. 73. Not surprisingly, in 1965 when race riots raged in the Watts area of Los Angeles, African newspapers were critical of U.S. progress on civil rights. South African papers bitingly suggested that perhaps now the United States might understand their racial separation policy. Characterizing U.S. racial tension as the worst in the world, one South African journalist was quoted in the *Times*, "'In such circumstances one would expect that the American government would not interfere with other governments that also have a race problem.'" "Reds Cite Riots as Class Fight," New York *Times*, August 17,1965, p. 17.

[25] Jay Walz, "Uganda Denounces U.S. on Racial Bias; Asks African Unity," New York *Times*, May 24, 1963, p. 1; Jay Walz, "30 African States Form Loose Union with Broad Aims," New York *Times*, May 26, 1963, p. 1.

[26] "Africans Urge Sending A Peace Corps to U.S.," New York *Times*, June 13, 1963, p. 13)

Birmingham and subsequent events such as the March on Washington occasioned a number of news stories that involved American diplomats or diplomacy. For example, the *Times* quoted Secretary of State Dean Rusk as describing the racial issue as hobbling America's efforts in the race against communism by placing one U.S. leg "'in a cast....Our voice is muted, our friends are embarrassed, our enemies are gleeful because we have not really put our hands fully and effectively to this problem.'" Subsequently, a *Times* account in mid-June detailed instructions given to U.S. ambassadors "to speak candidly with foreign governments about the nation's racial crisis and to explain the administration's response to it." The new policy stated that "it is fair for other nations to test American foreign policies and principles by the nation's performance in the civil rights controversy." A State Department analysis of various nations' press coverage had led to the new policy. The analysis cited examples like "Latin American politicians eager to exploit racial incidents for anti-American purposes" and "sharp reaction" in Ghana which used each integration story for "'a new emotional attack upon American society'"[27]

News stories about protests outside U.S. embassies in other nations focusing on American racism were not uncommon. In 1963 Ottawans picketed the U.S. embassy there in support of the August 1963 March on Washington, as did groups in Cairo and Munich. Ugandans protested the church bombing in Alabama in which four girls were killed. Earlier that year it was reported that "pictures of police dogs lunging at demonstrators and fire hoses turned on women and children in Birmingham were prominently displayed by newspapers in Africa, Asia and Europe" and had "tarnished" foreign coverage of the space flight by astronaut Gordon Cooper. Indeed, USIA Director Edward R. Murrow noted in September 1963 that James Meredith, who broke the color line at Ole Miss in 1962, might be as well known around the world as astronaut John Glenn.[28]

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[27] "Rusk Asks Action on Racial Issues," New York *Times*, May 28, 1963, p. 20. Max Frankel, "Envoys Told to Face Race Issue and Try to Explain U.S. Problem," New York *Times*, June 20, 1963, p. 18.

[28] "Ottawa Embassy Picketed," "Cairo Rally Suppressed," "Protest Lodged in Munich," New York *Times*, August 29, 1963, p. 19. "Ugandans Protest Alabama Bombing," New York *Times*, September 18, 1963, p. 27. Hedrick Smith, "Foreign Reaction to Race Rift Mild," New York *Times*, May 29, 1963, p. 16; "Race Issue Hurting U.S., Murrow Finds," New York *Times*, September 27, 1963, p. 60.

Sulzberger reiterated an earlier theme from columns in the *Times*:

> All Africa today follows the tragedy that bounds from Arkansas to Mississippi and now festers in Alabama....The fledging countries demand success in these difficult efforts if they are to trust us in the future. Until that end is achieved our aspirations to world leadership will be continually questioned. For, on the pernicious issue of color, both our friends and enemies insist that we practice at home the democracy we preach abroad....Civil rights is a touchstone of our foreign policy. To succeed abroad we must first succeed at home.[29]

Producing a more positive response abroad was the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. It was viewed less as a protest and more as a government- supported commitment to change. The *Times'* survey of news coverage of the march around the world found great interest. Broadcasts relayed by Telstar led to expanded news programming in all major European countries but Spain and Portugal. The story noted that Moscow had cancelled without explanation its announced coverage just five minutes before the scheduled air time. In African nations reaction varied. Though the march was celebrated in the Kenyan press, the Nigerian press gave it little attention. South African news media "showed little interest" while there was much positive coverage in Arab nations like Egypt and Lebanon. The day after the march TASS referred to it as showing the world "'the sores of American society, the repulsive picture of racial oppression and exploitation of 20,000,000 American Negroes.'" At the United Nations the march was said to have "projected a favorable picture of the United States abroad."[30]

The March on Washington did not eliminate the racial issue as a Cold War weapon. This can be seen in statements made at an international conference in New York attended by representatives of 25 African nations and covered by the *Times*. There the Nigerian minister of labor pointed to ongoing U.S. racial discrimination as a "'costly indulgence'" He stated, "'For every penny of aid poured into Africa...America continues to lose tons of goodwill because of the racial discrimination in this country.'"[31]

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[29] C.L. Sulzberger, "Foreign Affairs: Alabama and the Outer World," New York *Times*, May 15, 1963, p. 38.

[30] "Europeans View the March on TV," New York *Times*, August 29, 1963, p. 59; "Africans' Views on March Vary; Approval Voiced in Arab Lands," "'Repulsive Picture,'" "March Hailed at U.N.," New York *Times*, August 30, 1963, p. 10.

[31] Arnold H. Lubasch, "U.S. Image Called Marred In Africa," New York *Times*, May 20, 1964, p. 15.

However, a month later when the Senate passed the civil rights bill, it was "warmly acclaimed" in Europe. Still, "most commentators pointed that there might still be trouble ahead." In Algeria, the bill's passage was called a victory in "'shaking the racist fortress of the American society.'" But here too it was tempered by press statements that the law could not "sweep away hatred nursed by a part of the American people against the black man."

Of no help to the U.S. image in Africa were stories like one carried by the *Times* in the summer of 1965. A group of African women after a tour of the United States stated they were "dismayed to discover the extent of segregation and bigotry in the North as well as the South. This group of leaders of church and civic organizations summed up their U.S. State Department-sponsored tour by saying "'almost all Americans are segregationists.'"[32]

CASTIGATING THE CRITICS

As segregationists in the American South fulminated about hypocrisy and racial intolerance found in regions of the United States where Jim Crow was not required by law, so also did these publications—primarily the news magazines—register complaints against nations that denounced America for its racial problems while ignoring their own discrimination against minorities. As might be expected, some of the sharpest criticism was reserved for the Soviet Union and its satellites.

This critical tone could be found in the African-American press. The Baltimore *Afro-American* reported a speech by a film industry official who said, "'While this nation's shortcomings are small compared to inhumanities practiced in Russia. . .every one is magnified a thousand times in the international propaganda war between the East and West.'" Similarly a *Courier* columnist wrote, "Everyone already knows what Russia is—a dictatorship. But America holds herself up as a model of freedom of speech and democracy for all the world with the result that for every word of condemnation Russia gets in the world press for her type of injustice, America gets at least a thousand for hers. . .

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[32] John C. Devlin, "U.S. Disenchants African Visitors," New York *Times*, July 24, 1965, p. 9.

.Oppression, such as goes on in Russia, doesn't make 'news'. . . But oppression based on one's color of skin is fantastic, especially when it takes place in the United States." [33]

Thousands of African, Asian, and Latin American students were attracted to the Soviet Union, beginning in the late 1940s, by offers of a free university education. Beginning in 1959 and continuing through 1965, the news magazines condemned various Communist stages for *their* racism against blacks.[34]

In 1959, *Newsweek* cited "racial discrimination against West African students at Moscow University" that led to "several ugly incidents there, including fist fights over girls." Strikingly, the brief item was introduced by a brief reference to "Soviet propagandists [who] capitalized on the Little Rock riots of 1957."[35]

A year later, *U.S. News* published an interview with a Ugandan, S. Omor Okullo, who studied for two years at the University of Moscow before he "was expelled by the Soviets after protesting the way Russians treated African students." The article purported to be an expose of "A Negro's Life in Russia—Beatings, Insults, Segregation." The beating cited was of a Somalia student whose "'crime consisted of dancing with a Russian girl.'" One African student "'was insulted and called a monkey.'" The Africans were also segregated from Russian students. "'Many times, when Russian students are discovered in the company of African students the Russians are summoned and reprimanded by the Komsomol (Russian youth organization).'" Dissatisfied with poor conditions and discriminatory treatment, according to Ikullo, 15 of the 600 African students had already left and "'if they have the means, financially, many [more] are bound to leave—maybe most of them.'" He added that the Russians "are not sincere about preaching friendship with African peoples."[36]

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[33] "American Bigotry Communist Weapon, Johnston Tells Jews," Baltimore *Afro-American,* May 2, 1953, p. 21; J. A. Rogers, "History Shows," Pittsburgh *Courier,* July 19, 1958, p. p. 13. Another African-American columnist wrote that an American friend in Indonesia continually had to answer "embarrassing questions" about U. S. racial problems that were widely reported there. But the friend added: "'The American dream is still a vision of glory to the world. All the propaganda and prevarication of the cold war even reports of our race incidents, do not entirely change the wonder of it. . . . It is a strange experience to find it necessary to defend and explain my country.'" Marguerite Cartwright, "Around the U. N.," Pittsburgh *Courier,* April 13, 1957, p. 9.

[34] Articles recounting Russian and Chinese bigotry and discrimination against minorities before 1959 included the following: Marriages between Soviet women and foreigners were prohibited ("Wives of the State," *Newsweek,* July 14, 1947, p. 40.) The Russian economy rested upon slave labor. ("Slaves of the Soviet State," *Newsweek,* September 15, 1947, p. 94.) Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union was Soviet policy ("The Anti-Jewish Policy," *Newsweek,* December 29, 1947, pp. 30-31; "Mystery in Moscow," *Newsweek,* March 1, 1948, pp. 29-30; "The Periscope," *Newsweek,* March 1, 1948, pp. 9-10; "Anti-Semitism Is Shown in the Soviet 'Cultural Purge,'" *Newsweek,* April 4, 1949, p. 30; "Poison in Pen and Ink: The Soviet Anti-Semitic Campaign," *Newsweek,* May 2, 1949, p. 35; "Russian Anti-Semitism," *Time,* April 17, 1964, p. 84. Hungarian anti-Semitism was cited in "The Purge," *Time,* March 2, 1953, p. 22. Russian oppression of ethnic minorities was cited in "The Only Empire That Never Stops Growing," *U.S. News & World Report,* May 25, 1956, pp. 40-41, and "History Lesson," *Newsweek,* December 10, 1962, p. 26. Chinese repression of minority races was mentioned in "Racial Problem a New Headache for Red Chinese," *U.S. News & World Report,* January 17, 1958, p. 14. *Newsweek* also editorially attacked China for racism. "Red China's Mao Tse-tung, who has just attacked the 'racial discrimination of U.S. imperialism,' has trouble in his own backyard. At least a dozen Africans and Chinese were hospitalized after a recent racial brawl in Peking, prompting 30 Cameroonian students to quit China. Even before that clash, four Sudanese and twenty Somali students dropped out of Peking University, charging segregation." "The Periscope," *Newsweek,* August 19, 1963, p. 12.

[35] "The Periscope," *Newsweek,* August 24, 1959, p. 12.

Time report struck a similar tone later in the year :

> At the very time Nikita Khruschev was slapping black backs at the U.N. and telling Africa's delegates that the Soviet Union is their world's best friend, three African students decided to tell the world how they had been treated in the Soviet Union. In an open letter to the heads of all African governments, the three youths—all medical students—charged last week that they had been victims of "constant discrimination, threats, restrictions of our freedom, and even brutality," while they studied at Moscow University.[37]

Newsweek added another thematic element in 1961: The Soviets as two-faced bigots,

> who sing only the praises of the Africans in public, [but] talk another tune in private. Waiting impatiently for a Liberian delegate. . ., Soviet [United Nations] delegate Zorin made muttered references to his aides about putting a *chorny* in his place. *Chorny*, Russian for black, is highly derogatory when applied to a person. (In public, the Russians use *negr*—Negro—or *Africanetz*.[38]

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[36] "A Negro's Life in Russia—Beatings, Insults, Segregation," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 1, 1960, pp. 59-60. Following up the interview, *U.S. News* published four items, "New Report on Abuse of Africans in Russia," October 3, 1960, p. 8, and "Washington Whispers," October 24, 1960, p. 28. A third item reported that Russia lags behind the United States "in competition for foreign students even though it offered 500 all-expense scholarships including travel expenses, pocket money, food, and lodging. "Students, it seems, prefer education in freedom to Red 'free education.'" See "WorldGram," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 31, 1960, p. 92. The fourth was an account, picked up from the BBC, of the young Somali who had been beaten because he danced with a Russian girl. According to the story, "Nor was this the end of it. The girl felt sorry for him and met him again. She was warned again. The third time, she was expelled from the university and sent to work on a state building project in Siberia. Ahmed [the student] still has the letter she wrote to him from Siberia saying what had happened. . . .Her chance of an education was finished. Not unnaturally, few girls at Moscow University care to dance with Africans." "Segregation in Moscow—An African's Story," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 6, 1961, p. 94.

[37] "Three Who Went to Moscow," *Time*, October 3, 1960, p. 27.

[38] ""The Periscope," *Newsweek*, December 4, 1961, p. 12.

Newsweek welcomed signs that the clumsy Russian bear was blundering in Africa:

> "The Russians are more racist than your Southerners," exploded one Guinean to a U.S. diplomat in a burst of anger at the "pukka sahib" behavior of the Soviet advisers and technicians. Angeredby Soviet interference in local affairs, [Guinea's Marxist President] Sekou Touré recalled all Guinean students from Russia. . . .Ghana and Mali have shared similar experiences. In ex-French Mali, a government minister recently told an old Parisian acquaintance: "The Russians are impossible people. They live locked up in their houses. They bring their own servants. They don't mix with the people. Who the hell do they think they are?"[39]

Racial incidents in Communist bloc nations in 1963 led to a number of articles in the news magazines. *Newsweek* led off with an examination of "Segregation in Sofia." The Bulgarian educational program for Africans was not altruistic. Actually, Bulgaria

> the cultural Slobbovia of the bloc, was dragged into the program, and Afro-Asian students streamed into Sofia by the hundreds. Last week, however, the Africans were streaming out again. They were bitter over classroom brainwashing and. . .racial intolerance which promised to rank Sofia with Little Rock, Arkansas, and Oxford, Mississippi, as a smear word in the non-white world.[40]

Sofia was *worse* than Little Rock or Oxford; that idea was driven home by the account. The African students had been attacked by six hundred "club-swinging police and militia. . . and Bulgarian civilians joined in with fists." The Africans began pulling out, and "Their bitter words echoed throughout Africa. 'We have been called black monkeys and jungle people, and we were treated like dirt," said Robert Kotey, 25, of Accra. 'There was more racial discrimination in this Communist country than in any so-called capitalist state.'"[41]

The same tactic made the same point for *U.S. News* at the end of 1963. It reported that demonstrations had been staged in Moscow by 500 African students angered because a

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[39] "From Sputnik to Boomerang?" *Newsweek*, October 8, 1962, p. 65. A reiteration of the theme of Soviets as "pukka sahib" racists appears in "Comrade Blimp," *Newsweek*, December 16, 1963, p. 50.

[40] "Segregation in Sofia," *Newsweek*, February 25, 1963, p. 42.

[41] "Segregation in Sofia," *Newsweek*, February 25, 1963, p. 42. Racial problems in Sofia , as well as those in Moscow, Communist China, and Czechoslovakia were reported by *U.S. News* in "How the Communists Are Treating Negroes," February 25, 1963, p. 8. *Time* relished the embarrassment of Czech authorities in mid-1963. "Just as Radio Prague was gleefully reporting the battle in Birmingham, race riots exploded in the heart of the Communist capital." See "Way Down South in Wenceslas Square," *Time*, May 24, 1963, p. 33. Other stories in *U.S. News* include "Racial Troubles in a Red Nation," May 27, 1963, p. 16, and ""Race Trouble—Is It the Same the World Over?" p. 38.

Ghanaian medical student had died under suspicious circumstances. "Signs that the students carried read: "'Moscow is a second Alabama'; 'Don't kill like cannibals'; 'We, too, are people, not animals.'" A sidebar story asserted that the students would have had it better in the Jim Crow South: "'Nobody would speak to us,' one said. 'We were completely walled off morning to night by the prejudices of the Russians against black skins. In Alabama, at least the people exchange interracial good mornings. Our greetings went unanswered.'"[42]

The demonstrations in Moscow were also reported by *Time* and *Newsweek,* which cited the sign, "Moscow is a second Alabama." They questioned the official Soviet explanation of the young African's death. Drunk, according to the Soviet authorities, he had "fallen down in the 11-degree-below-zero cold and had frozen to death." The magazines seemed to share the suspicions of African students that he had been murdered because he had been about to marry a white Russian girl. *Time* linked the Soviet Union to South Africa as racist states by reporting (in a journalistic aside) that African students called Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow *Apartheid* University. Moreover, Africans often came away from Lumumba University "vocally convinced that ordinary Russians are deeply prejudiced against Negroes. Within the past three years, at least 300 Africans have left Russia for Western universities out of deep disillusionment with Soviet society."[43]

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[42] "Now, Race Riots in Moscow's Red Square" and "Blacks in Russia: 'World's Loneliest Men,'" both in *U.S. News & World Report,* December 30, 1963, p. 5. The theme was repeated at the beginning of 1964. Even before the demonstrations in Moscow, an African student in Soviet Central Asia maintained: "In Central Asia there is segregation to a far greater degree than in the Southern United States. There, at least, the Negro is free to move North if he can save the money. In the Soviet Union he is not free to travel. . . In Soviet Central Asia, a black man's isolation is complete.'" Charles Foltz, Jr., "Big Changes Inside Russia," *U.S. News & World Report,* January 20, 1964, p. 63. The theme also surfaced in an item about a group of African students returning home "from Russia with tales of brutality, misery, brainwashing, and racial hatred. . . .[A] student said: 'It was hell. May God let us all forget that place.'" See "How Russia Mistreats Students from Africa," *U.S. News & World Report,* April 19, 1965, p. 14.

[43] "'We Too Are People,' *Time,* December 27, 1963, pp. 20-21. "Red and Black," *Newsweek,* December 30, 1963, p. 23. (In 1962, *Newsweek* had found evidence of the depth of that disillusionment. The pro-West President of Senegal, Leopold Senghor confided "to Western diplomats that he prefers sending Senegalese students to Russia rather than to France. Why? 'Students who study in Moscow return to us as anti-Communists; those returning from Paris come back as Reds.'" "The Periscope," *Newsweek,* April 2, 1962, p. 116.) Following up its reports, *Newsweek* published two items about the departure of African students from Moscow. See "The Periscope," January 27, 1964, p. 9, and "Good-by, Lumumba U.," February 10, 1964, pp. 80, 82. The latter concluded with an expression of Russian exasperation—in effect, good riddance, to those Africans who left the Soviet Union. A columnist for *Newsweek* also took note of the "deeply implanted racial antipathy in the Russian character." Raymond Moley, "Exporting

Newsweek provided an odd but compelling example of the color bar in the Soviet Union—a parable published in the nation's official youth newspaper warning that "Russian girls should shun foreigners and seek the 'better life' married to a healthy farmer in the virgin land." One Russian girl who did not seek that better life was one "Larissa." Swept off her feet by "Mahmoud, a dark-skinned foreign student," she married him and left Russia "only to wind up in a harem as the sixth wife of one of Mahmoud's friends." Muscovites believed the fable; they "hounded and abused African and Arab students on the streets and trolleys demanding to know why Larisssa was sold into a harem."[44]

WHILE THE NEWS WEEKLIES leveled some accusations of bigotry against European nations,[45] the most vitriolic criticism was reserved for Britain. The British were the targets of counter-accusations of racism from 1948 through 1965. *Newsweek* sounded a theme in 1948 that would recur (and in almost the same language) for almost two decades:

> One of the matters in which the average Englishman still feels superior to the average American is racial tolerance. He is firmly convinced there is no color bar in England; he gets a righteous feeling of self-esteem when he reads about discrimination in the Southern United States. The more popular papers play up this type of American news.[46]

Similar stories were published by the three news magazines during the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. As a rule, the articles included a reference to Britons' criticism of the United States or to the claim that racism was absent from the United Kingdom. These references usually received prominent placement—in the lead paragraph or in the first few

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Communism," *Newsweek*, August 2, 1965, p. 72. *Newsweek* was much less critical in another story in 1965. It indicated that the students' charges of racial discrimination could have been "real or fancied." And Lumumba University might not be the flop it appeared to "Westerners—particularly those wrestling with race problems of their own—[who] have found it easy to snicker at Lumumba's troubles." See "The Old College Try," *Newsweek*, June 28, 1965, p. 33.

[44] "The Color Bar," *Newsweek*, June 17, 1963, pp. 51, 52.

[45] See, e.g., [45]"Slow Melting," *Newsweek*, August 3, 1964, p. 37. "Race Riots, Paris Style: Negroes vs. Algerians," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 5, 1963, p. 16. "'Civil Rights'—What a Swedish Official Ruled," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 14, 1964, p. 15. "How Martin Luther King won the Nobel Peace Prize," *U.S. News & World Report*, February 8, 1965,p. 76.

[46] "Britannia Rules Rule," *Newsweek*, April 26, 1948, pp. 35-36.

paragraphs of the article.[47]

The magazines supplied damning details of British racism. Most of these articles concerned incidents of discrimination against blacks in Britain, especially black immigrants from Jamaica, and episodes of violence. After migrants from the British West Indies swelled the country's "Negro population" to more than 50,000 persons, tensions rose.

> In Birmingham, unionists rebelled when the city proposed to hire 300 Negro bus conductors, [and] caved in only under a nationwide barrage of protests. In Brixton, slogans appeared on walls "Keep Britain White." Some pubs refused Negroes admittance.
>
> In Edinburgh, four out of five landladies on the university's lists refuse to accept colored students. . . . A tenant of an expensive Park Lane apartment arranged to sublet it to the young, Cambridge-educated Kabaka of Buganda, then was refused permission by the apartment owner.[48]

Two weeks later, *Newsweek* compiled its own examples of the British color bar:

> Pubkeepers decline to sell drinks to colored customers, in spite of the requirements of the licensing laws. Dance halls which have been sites of interracial fights now ban colored men who come stag. In one Midlands city with a considerable Negro population, prostitutes draw the color line. Rooming houses which have always taken colored students refuse the laborers of the new immigration wave. Vandalism against Negro-owned property, and small-scale race riots have broken out in the new "black belts" in London.[49]

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[47] See "More Than Skin Deep," *Newsweek*, May 19, 1952, p. 42; "Britain Has a Race Problem Too," *U.S. News & World Report*, June 18,1954, p. 44; "Now—Race Friction," *U.S. News & World Report*, December 17, 1954, p. 82; "The Color Bar," *Time*, December 27, 1954, p. 18; "Now a Ticklish Racial Problem in Britain," *Newsweek*, January 10, 1955, p. 38; "No Segregation, But—With More Negroes, Tension Grows in Britain," *U.S. News & World Report*, My 4, 1956, p. 134; "The Strange 'Invasion,'" *Newsweek*, May 13, 1957, p. 58; "The British Have a Race Problem,Too," *U.S. News & World Report*, July 25, 1958, p. 12; "A Cry in the Streets," *Time*, September 8, 1958, p. 23; "Now Britain Has Race Riots," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 5, 1958, p. 39; "Flare-Up in Nottingham," *Newsweek*, September 8, 1958, p. 37; "British See U.S. Negro Problem in New Light," *U.S. News & World Report*, April 4, 1960, p. 42; "The Welcome Mat," *Time*, August 11, 1961, p. 20; "Jumbles' Rumble," *Time*, November 10, 1961, p. 34; "'How Can We Do This Thing?'" *Time*, December 15, 1961, p. 25; "Now England Raises a Racial Barrier," *U.S. News & World Report*, November 20, 1961, p. 92; "Has Race Trouble Tarnished U.S. Image Abroad?" *U.S. News & World Report*, August 19, 1963, p. 66; "Shame of Empire," *Time*, October 4, 1963, p. 128; "Race Trouble in Birmingham, England, Too," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 23, 1964, p. 102; "The Other Birmingham," *Newsweek*, March 30, 1964, p. 26.

[48] "The Color Bar," *Time*, p. 18. For similar reports, see "Back Home," *Time*, November 10, 1952, p. 38; "Britain Has a Race Problem Too," *U.S. News & World Report*, p. 44; "Now—Race Friction," *U.S. News & World Report*, December 17, 1954, p. 82.

[49] "Now a Ticklish Racial Problem in Britain," *Newsweek*, pp. 38-39. (*Newsweek* had reported the Jamaican migration as early as 1948; see "Invasion from Jamaica," July 12, 1948, pp. 37-38.) For similar reports, see "The Half-World," *Time*, April 25, 1955, p. 112; "Rebel on the Right," *Time*, April 8, 1957, pp. 26-27; "The Strange 'Invasion,'" *Newsweek*, May 13, 1957, p. 58; "Race Barrier in Britain," *U.S. News & World Report*, July 11, 1958, p. 14; "A Cry in the Streets," *Time*, September 8, 1958, p. 23.

The racial situation worsened. After race riots flared in various British cities in 1958, *Time* painted this scene of anarchy:

> . . .Hoodlums worked systematically down the street hurling bricks and milk bottles at every house where Negroes lived. When they reached a Negro bar. . ., three Molotov cocktails. . .were hurled out at the crowd. "Kill the bloody spades!" shrieked a 15-year-old Teddy boy. . . .Dozens were arrested and police stations stacked up piles of bicycle chains and tire irons, flick knives, and nail-studded belts taken from the rioters. . . . "I reckon Little Rock learned us a lesson," snarled one Teddy boy. Ranted a black-bearded ex-serviceman: "I'm a nigger hater all right. . . . Before the war we were supreme beings—30,000 of us kept one-third of the earth's surface in order. We've got to keep the blacks down or they'll taken over like Hitler did."[50]

Newsweek reported the "ugly hatreds that underlie" violence in London's Notting Hill district. One Jamaican said:

> "British people always talk about us being primitive. Well, you should have seen *them* on Monday night, 300 of them tumbling down the street, yelling: 'Get 'em! Nigger! Nigger!'
>
> "Even before Christmas, some kids threw an oil drum in my shop window. White children were always pushing the door open and shouting: 'Blackie, blackie, blackie!'"[51]

Even after the race riots ended, the news weeklies reported, immigrants of color to Britain continued to face social hostility and discrimination, demagogic politicians, the appearance of anti-black organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, and a political movement that eventually succeeded in attempt to erect barriers against admitting such immigrants. Moreover, each magazine maintained that blacks had it better in the United States than in Britain from the standpoint of education, income, and improving social situation.[52]

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[50] "Notting Hill Nights," *Time*, September 15, 1958, p. 24. *Time* scoffed at the notion of a black takeover: "In Great Britain there are 50 million whites, 200,000 coloreds." Ibid. See also, "A Cry in the Streets," *Time*, p. 23.

[51] "Races in Turmoil: Reasons Why—Here and Abroad," *Newsweek*, September 15, 1958, p. 31; see also, "Flare-Up in Nottingham," *Newsweek*, September 8, 1958, p. 37. Other reports of racial violence during the 1950s include: "Now Britain Has Race Riots," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 5, 1958, pp. 39-41; "News Reports Tell This About Britain's Race Riots," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 19, 1958, pp. 80-81. (There was marked appreciation for the rectitude and efficacy of stern justice, however, when the magazines reported the sentencing, in London's Old Bailey, of nine white Teddy boys for inciting race riots in 1958. See "'Nigger Hunters,'" September 29, 1958, p. 25, and "The Worst Punishment," *Newsweek*, September 29, 1958, p. 34.) *U.S. News* recorded the murder of a "Jamaican Negro by a gang of white teenagers" in "Race Troubles and Violent Death in Britain," *U.S. News & World Report*, June 1, 1959, p. 8. Other reports of racial violence in the 1960s included: "Race Riots in Britain Again—In a New Place," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 4, 1961, p. 9. "New Racial Flare-Up in Great Britain," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 13, 1962, p. 10, and "What Life Is Like When Everybody Has a Job," *U.S. News & World Report*, April 15, 1965, p. 87. *Newsweek*, interestingly, reported Dr. Martin Luther King's scolding of the British in 1964; "Britain was 'beginning to show signs of a rapidly growing problem in race relations.' He warned the British: 'You are permitting festering sores of bitterness and deprivation to pollute your national health.'" "Up From Montgomery," *Newsweek*, December 21, 1964, p. 41.

Dominions also came in for their share of stones. Canadian bigotry against blacks was exposed by *Time*, which recounted the experience of a black passenger who took a Trans-Canada Air Lines flight. When he attempted to register at a fashionable hotel in Montreal,

> the room clerk began to fumble with the registry cards and to complain that the airline had mixed up the reservations. He did not say that he had no rooms, but he finally handed the Negro a slip of paper with the address of a cheaper hotel and toid he to go there. The Negro. . .said afterwards, "I walked away feeling that I would never want to put foot on Canadian soil again." In most cases, the visitor's experience would have caused little stir. But the Negro was Grantley Adams, Premier of the British colony of Barbados and a staunch promoter of Canada-West Indies trade.[53]

His prominence led to an apology from the government.

The most scathing criticism of Canadian racial practices was published by *U.S. News*. Not coincidentally, it appeared a few weeks after attacks on black demonstrators in Birmingham, stirred up an international outcry. Among the Canadians' sins were:

> Rigid quotas limit immigration of colored races from the West Indies and Asia. Canada's 32,000 Negroes often encounter discrimination in seeking jobs, meals in restaurants, or living accommodations. A Negro couple in Halifax answered sixty advertisements of apartments without success. Negro tourists from the U.S. are sometimes turned away from resorts despite advance reservations and deposits. Officially, Canada's 210,000 Indians are equal in every respect to other Canadians. Unofficially, they are often treated as pariahs, avoided whenever possible, and stereotyped as "dirty, drunken, shiftless Indians". . . .
>
> What turns up in Canada is just another version of the same story to be found in any part of the world which has differing races. . . .Even in countries where racial minorities are relatively small, . . .there is racial antagonism. Often that antagonism is most violent in those countries which now profess horror at America's handling of its racial problem.[54]

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[52] See "The Segregation Issue," *Time*, December 22, 1952, p. 13, n. "Negroes in College: What Figures Show," *U.S. News & World Report*, November 25, 1963, p. 81. "Who's Better Off?" *Time*, January 20, 1961, p. 31. "Just How Well Off Is the American Negro?" *U.S. News & World Report* July 22, 1963, p. 45.

[53] "Unwelcome Guest," *Time*, November 15, 1954, p. 46. See also, "Musty Policy," *Time*, October 4, 1954, p. 38.

[54] "Race Trouble—Is It the Same the World Over?" *U.S. News & World Report*, July 1, 1963, p. 38. The article added: "In many [nations] racial antagonism is far worse than anything in America—and it's still growing." Ibid., p. 32. Elsewhere in the Americas, other examples of racial discrimination were castigated by the news magazines. Racism in Brazil was not acknowledged by Brazilians nor did foreigners regard Brazil as a nation where discrimination was practiced, according to *Time*. One Brazilian professor argued otherwise:

> The words were unexceptionable and, to any American, painfully familiar. "If we help the Negro get ahead," said the earnest sociology professor, "our democracy will win a major victory. If we fight him as an economic competitor and a threat to white supremacy, we can only bring about anger and bitterness." Surprisingly, however, the professor, 44-year-old Florestan Fernandes of the

Some stories complained about the hypocrisy of Australian racial practices. *Newsweek* published reports in 1949 that pointed up the human cost of the inconsistency of Australia's championing "the Indonesians against the Dutch" while banning "all Asiatic immigrants." The "white Australia" policy led to the deportation of an Indonesian woman, the mother of eight children, who had been admitted to Australia during World War II when war pressures caused the liberalization of the policy. The woman had "acquired a white Australian husband." He observed with bitterness: "'If I were wealthy, I would spend my last penny fighting this case. . .Since I'm not, all I can do is follow the wife of my choice and her children into exile. In effect, an Australian may not continue to live in his own land if he marries a woman from Asia.'"[55]

No less scathing was a *Time* report in 1950 about "Down Under immigration laws [that] have been operated to keep out all but a handful of Asians and Eurasians." The article established, with evident relish, just how ridiculous the policy was. Applicants for

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> University of Sao Paulo—was talking not about the U.S. but about his own Brazil.
> . . .Brazil's Negroes (38 percent of the population versus 10 percent in the U.S.) have never feared a Ku Klux Klan, never fought in a race riot, never staged a sit-in. But. . .Brazil's colored people are the nation's dispossessed and, in many respects, race prejudice in Brazil matches anything to be found in the Deep South. Even the general Portuguese word for people—*gente*—has racial connotations in Brazil. "Whites," runs a bitter Negro say, "are *gente*, blacks are beasts". . . . Many white Brazilians, in fact, have a superiority complex which staggers the wildest Yankee imagination. "According to Brazilian stereotypes," a Negro lawyer. . ."you are now talking to a man who is shiftless, lazy, irresponsible, lawless, stupid, drunk, immoral, and oversexed." See "Black and White," *Time*, September 7, 1964, p. 46.

U.S. New also found evidence of racism in Latin America, even though the region, "in the past, often has been pictured as having little racial trouble." The magazine stated, "Latin America has a wide and growing variety of racial problems. In Peru, millions of Indians are treated almost as serfs and are referred to by whites as 'cattle.' In Mexico and other countries, persons of lighter skins tend to dominate the ruling classes. In Haiti, blacks now prevail." It also cited a "bitter racial conflict" developing between East Indians and blacks in British Guiana, charging that Communists were exploiting racial tensions. See "Race Trouble—Is It the Same the World Over?" *U.S. News & World Report*, July 1, 1963, pp. 36, 38; "A Shaky Truce in a Race War," *U.S. News & World Report*, July 22, 1963, p. 52; "Why the New Upheaval in Latin America," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 21, 1963, p. 44; "WorldGram," *U.S. News & World Report*, , June 8, 1964, p. 52; "Reds Own Race War in Guiana: Signs of Another 'Congo,'" *U.S. News & World Report*, June 15, 1964, pp. 60-61.

[55] "Asiatics Keep Out," *Newsweek*, February 21, 1949, p. 37. See also, "Never the Twain..." *Newsweek*, April 1, 1949, p. 40, about two other couples with Asiatic spouses forced to endure separation because of the racist rule.

admission to Australia had to prove they were at least 75 percent European blood. They also had to *look* white. The latter caveat led to one Eurasian, John Trench-Thiedemann, being denied admission to Australia while his full brother, Duke, was admitted. "Said Duke: 'For the last four years John has swum in the tropical sea four hours a day, and is burned almost black. He should never have swum in the sun.'"[56]

A carefully neutral examination of Australian racial practices was published by *U.S. News* in 1963. The tone shifted, however, to one of hostility when Australians criticized U.S. racism the following year:

> Now the U.S. has been made a target of racial demonstrators in Australia—a country whose immigration laws have been criticized as constituting a "whites only" policy. . .Some 2,000 Australian students [brandished] signs reading "Civil Rights Now" and "No More Little Rock". . . .The demonstrators did not indicate opposition to their own country's racial restrictions on immigrants. The [Australian] government insists the laws do not reflect racial prejudice, but are needed to preserve the racial homogeneity of the nation.[57]

Newsweek was equally acerbic. The Australians should be addressed their country's "solution to the problem of racial integration. It remains a startlingly simple one: practically all non-white immigrants are excluded from the sub-continent."[58]

BLACK RACISM AGAINST WHITES was criticized by the news magazines occasionally. One article reported the marriage of the tribe's hereditary chief, Seretse Khama to a white British woman in London. *Newsweek*'s headlines—the pun "Jim Dove," instead of Jim Crow, and "Prejudice Backwards"—made its position clear.[59] *Time*'s article drew a parallel between the choice forced upon Edward VIII to give up either his throne or Wally Simpson. By contrast, "Seretse fought hard for throne and love," shouting to the assembled tribe,

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[56] "A Swim in the Sun," *Time*, February 6, 1950, pp. 23-24.

[57] "Medicare...Labor...Race—How Australia Handles Them," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 25, 1963, p. 95. "Riot Against U.S. In a "Color Bar" Country," *U.S. News & World Report*, May 18, 1964, p. 13.

[58] "Civil Rights Now ," *Newsweek*, May 18, 1964,p. 43.

[59] "Jim Dove," *Newsweek*, October 25, 1948, p. 51, and "Prejudice Backwards," *Newsweek*, November 8, 1948, p. 36. Essentially the same point, made with considerable condescension, was made by "List of Wrongs," *Newsweek*, March 14, 1949, p. 40.

"'Who wants me for chief with my white wife, whom I refuse to give up?' Nearly six thousand tribesmen responded with a thunderous standing 'Yes!'"[60]

Following the Birmingham crisis of 1963 in the United States, the conservative *U.S. News* went casting about for other examples of racism around the world. It found numerous examples in Africa. Kenya was a case in point:

> Kenya's black leaders say there will be no discrimination on the basis of race. Yet discrimination actually has begun. A white civil servant, who may have been born in Kenya and spent his entire life there, is likely as not to find his job taken over by an African of black skin. . . .Thousand of white settlers, fearing what lies ahead, already have left. . . .Indians in Kenya live completely apart from both whites and blacks. . . .There is, moreover, little mixing among Kenya's fifty or more black tribes. . . . "Integration" is not something that gets any real attention in black Africa.[61]

White colonials were *Time*'s special target. *Time* used the remarks of an American industrialist to contrast the white racism found in the Central African Federation, where "blacks (who outnumber the whites 35 to one) claim the federation is designed to keep them in their place," to the racial equality in the United States. The industrialist, "William H. Ball, of the fruit-jar and rubber-products family of Muncie, Indiana" lost the enthusiasm of his audience of white colonials when he "volunteered the information that at Ball Bros. Co., Inc., in Muncie, Negroes get the same pay as whites for the same work and can even belong to the same union."[62] The discrimination suffered by Patrick Matimba, a black Southern Rhodesian who married a white Dutch woman, demonstrated even more effectively the human toll of bigotry. Since the law forbade blacks to live in the same community as whites, "Patrick,. . . helpfully offered to become his own wife's servant—the only kind of Negro permitted to live among Europeans." When his wife was admitted to a white hospital for emergency surgery, her husband was informed that

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[60] "For Throne and Love," *Time*, July 11, 1949, p. 27. See also, "*Balulubela!*" *Time*, September 5, 1949, p. 21. Seretse's uncle and the tribe's regent and the British authorities were presented as the villains of the situation by *Time*.

[61] Race Trouble—Is It the Same the World Over?" *U.S. News & World Report*, July 1, 1963, p. 33. A similar point was made in "Where Negroes and Arabs Are Clashing," *U.S. News & World Report*, December 21, 1964, p. 6.

[62] "Home Truths From Muncie," *Time*, August 17, 1953, p. 28. A similar attitude among British colonials was cited in "Violence in the Valley,"*Time*, September 14, 1953, p. 39. The refusal of whites to provide access to public accommodations to non-whites, to even the most distinguished scholar, who had been knighted for his outstanding career as a medical missionary, or an Indian and Pakistani diplomats, who were turned away from public accommodations because of a rigid color bar are cited, respectively, in "The Ibiam Affair," *Time*, September 14, 1959, p. 36, and "Teapot Tempest," *Time*, March 31, 1958, p. 18.

> he could not see her—"even," as Patrick said later, "if dying." Frantic, Patrick transferred her to an African hospital where an operation was performed just in time. To Patrick Matimba, [here]. . .was proof that in multiracial Rhodesia there is "very little hope that mutual tolerance and understanding will ever prevail."[63]

If there was little hope for racial accord in Rhodesia, there appeared to be none at all in South Africa. Certainly, the American news magazines offered little hope for settlement of racial problems in South Africa. Nevertheless, that country served a purpose: However slow the pace of achieving racial progress in the United States, the situation almost always appeared better in contrast to conditions in South Africa. *U.S. News* presented such a contrast in 1948:

> "White supremacy," as [a] U.S. issue, is dwarfed by [the] race problem in South Africa, where white people are outnumbered four to one. . .Recent election results signal [a] trend away from civil liberties, toward more segregation [and] tighter controls over non-whites. South Africa is caught up in a crisis involving race issues that go far beyond the race problems of the United States.[64]

The same theme surfaced in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the most sharply drawn contrasts appeared in an article that bore the headline, "Where Integration is Treason":

> At a time when courts in the United States are moving to lower the barriers to the mixing of races, South Africa is tightening its laws to maintain an absolute separation of Negroes and whites. . .the Government has arrested and charged with treason 153 persons who oppose its laws against integration. This is in sharp contrast with the situation in the United States, where people are threatened with jail on opposite charges—for obstructing court orders to end racial segregation.[65]

At almost the same time, however, the right-wing *U.S. News* also published a series of question-and-answer interviews that were sympathetic to South Africa. A recurring theme was that the racial situations in South Africa and the United States were different and that, confronted by the same problems, Americans would act much as did South Africans. That thesis was put by South Africa's Foreign Minister Eric H. Louw:

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[63] "Case of the White Goose," *Time*, August 4, 1958, p. 26.

[64] "South Africa's Color-Line Crisis," *U.S. News & World Report*,, June 18, 1948, p. 20. Both this article and a analysis published the year before carried full details of discrimination against blacks and Indians in South Africans. See "The Racial Problem in South Africa," *World Report*, January 7, 1947, pp. 26-27. *World Report* and *U.S. News* were merged in 1948. The theme recurred in "WorldGram," *U.S. News & World Report*, April 4, 1952, p. 46. *Time* also criticized the "degrading system of racial discrimination" in South Africa. "A Cry for Humanity," *Time*, December 5, 1949, p. 29.

[65] "Where Integration Is Treason," *U.S. News & World Report*, January 4, 1957, pp. 51-55. For other examples of the theme in *U.S. News*, see "Tightening the Color Line," February 25, 1955, p. 66; "Worldgram," September 14, 1956, p. 61; "'Here, the White Man Must Remain Supreme,'" September 14, 1956, p. 46; "Where Racial Barriers Keep Going Higher," May 16, 1958, p. 81; "British See U.S. Negro Problem in New Light," April 4, 1960, p. 42.

> Q How would you compare your racial problem with that in America?
>
> A In your country, you have a small minority of Negroes. If the problem in America were anything like it is in South Africa, you would have, say, only 30 million white people here and 130 million Negroes. Our policy of "apartheid"—i.e., separate development—has been severely criticized. But if, for instance,. . .[you had] 130 million Negroes and only 30 million whites. . .your whole attitude toward the color problem would change.[66]

The theme was restated, with a related element, by South African Prime Minister Johannes G. Strijdom. He argued that

> "Your American Negro, transplanted from his tribal Africa, has adopted largely the white man's customs and habits. He has lost completely the primitive form of life from which he sprang. The vast major of natives here, in contrast, still retail tribal ties, even if they are living in white areas. They haven't fully grasped the ways of the whites."[67]

Strikingly, *U.S. News* permitted white Africans to accuse the United States of hypocrisy without offering a counter-argument. For example, Foreign Minister Louw disclaimed (a remark reported by *U.S. News* without any rejoinder) any intent to "go into the question as to what subsequently happened to the Indian of the U.S.A., Canada, and the South and Central Americas, or what the position of their remaining descendants is today."[68]

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[66] "What South Africa Is Doing to Keep White Supremacy," *U.S. News & World Report,* July 22, 1955, p. 58. The theme was restated in "The Way South Africa Looks at Its Race Problem," *U.S. News & World Report,* February 20, 1959, p. 114, and "From Troubled South Africa—A Candid Talk to the West," *U.S. News & World Report,* November 7, 1960, p. 109.

[67] "'Here, the White Man Must Remain Supreme,'" *U.S. News & World Report,* September 14, 1956, pp. 47-48.

[68] "From Troubled South Africa—A Candid Talk to the West," *U.S. News & World Report,* November 7, 1960, p. 109. See also "How U.S. Rates in Africa," *U.S. News & World Report,* June 5, 1961, p. 51, in which Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, argued that Americans "who have problems, such as they have in the deep South, are not in a position to go around lecturing to the world on how to handle color-bar problems." For other relatively sympathetic articles about and references to South Africa in *U.S. News*, see "Why South Africans Want Stricter Segregation," April 16, 1954, pp. 60-62; "Back of South Africa's Crisis—From a White Who Lives There," April 25, 1960, pp. 71-74; "South Churches Speak Out on Race Problems Here and Abroad?" May 2, 1960, pp. 100-103; "'Apartheid'—Is It Really Race 'Discrimination'?" June 20, 1960, pp. 138-139; "Diplomat's Advice: 'Keep South Africa as a Friend," December 18, 1961, pp. 86-88.

Newsweek, by contrast, had little sympathy for South African racism, damning details of which it published. Like *U.S. News*, however, it used South Africa as a symbol of how much worse racial problems were there than in America. The contrast was drawn starkly.

> [Prime Minister] Strijdom's rabid racism probably would startle even a convinced Ku Klux Klansman from America's Deep South. One of its most outspoken critics, Anglican Father Trevor Huddleston, gave this appraisal: "In America today racial prejudice exists and is acknowledged to exist, but with shame and the determination to uproot it. In South Africa racial prejudice and fears and frustrations that go with it is government policy—naked and unashamed.[69]

Similarly, after the Little Rock crisis, *Newsweek* sought a broader context for the racial problems that had brought the United States such disrepute overseas. It argued that

> Little Rock was but a part of a pattern. . . In South Africa, a new Prime Minister took office, sworn to a system of segregation that, to South Africa's eleven million blacks, meant perpetual isolation. . . ..In the U.S., the story of Little Rock is rooted in the story of the Negro American's emergence from slavery. Negroes have come a long way—and the problem is certainly not one of mass oppression like South Africa's. It is one of law and method.[70]

Analysis was transformed into almost strident insistence following the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa in 1960. While the United States was affected by racial conflicts across the globe,

> those who sought to draw a parallel between the South African violence and the racial disturbances in the U.S. South overlooked one basic difference. In the U.S., with all its shortcomings, the broad movement of history is set, beyond recall, toward greater equality between whites and the less-numerous non-whites. The law of the land says all men shall be treated as equals; it is the duty of American law enforcement officers from the Attorney General on down, to uphold that concept.
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> In South Africa, by contrast, the law of the land says that whites and the far more numerous blacks are unequal. And it is the duty of every South African law office, from the Ministry of Justice on down, to uphold *that* concept.[71]

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[69] "African Showdown: The Boer Strijdom Puts White Mastery to the Test," *Newsweek*, July 2, 1956, p. 34. To demonstrate just how rabid the South African racists what, it quoted some statements, in a sidebar story, such as the following: "**Daniel F. Malan**, *ex-Prime Minister:* 'The Negro does not need a home. He can sleep under a tree.'" See "'The Lash,'" *Newsweek*, July 2, 1956, p. 34. Two years earlier, a book review claimed that "Growing up as a black boy in a South African slum can be far more crippling, even, than a segregated childhood in Mississippi." See "Black Boy in Vrededorp," *Newsweek*, August 9, 1954, p. 83. *Newsweek* did cite the embarrassment the United States might face should it be forced to advocate measures against racial discrimination "for South African which have not been fully adopted at home." See "Periscoping the World," *Newsweek*, November 1, 19654, p. 12.

[70] "Races in Turmoil: Reasons Why—Here and Abroad," *Newsweek*, September 15, 1958, p. 25.

[71] "Exploding South Africa," *Newsweek*, April 11, 1960, p. 49. See also, "Verwoerd's 'Blight,'" *Newsweek*, August 19, 1963, p. 45. For stories in *Time* that attacked South African racism or pointed out instances in which the United States condemned it, see "The South and South Africa," April 25, 1960, p.

Time (and the other magazines) complained about racism in Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, and other Asian nations.[72] It was with special relish that the magazines published stories about racial and religious strife in India and Japan.

As India assumed an important leadership role for Third World nations, she and her leaders, especially Prime Minister Nehru, were castigated for throwing stones at the United States while ignoring racial discrimination within India's own glass house. *U.S. News* put the case in early 1954. Nehru, while complaining of racial discrimination elsewhere, "ignored the ragged Indian porter near by, one of India's 'untouchables,' who can neither go into an Indian hotel nor drink from the same well [that] other Indians do." That brief report was followed up with six pages on Nehru as the "Man in a Glass House." *U.S. News* complained that Nehru "denounces racial discrimination in Western nations" while ruling "over millions of 'untouchables' who are denied most human rights." Indeed, the report argued, the 250 million Indian peasants were so desperately poor that "almost any one of them would consider himself lucky if he lived as well as the poorest sharecropper in America's South." The magazine advised him, in so many words, to solve India's problems instead of spending "his time and energy trying to solve all the world's problems."[73]

85; "The Sharpeville Massacre," April 4, 1960, p. 19. See also "Brooding South Africa—After the Bloodshed, the Signs Say Danger," *Newsweek*, April 4, 1960, pp. 54-56. All of the news magazines reported the growing isolation of South Africa in the world. See, e.g., "White Men and Black," *Newsweek*, March 13, 1961, pp. 41-42; "South Africa's Color Bar Gets U.N. Scolding," *U.S. News & World Report*, April 24, 1961, p. 6; "The Sharpeville Massacre," *Time*, April 4, 1960, pp. 18-19.

[72] Indonesians were "torn by racial and national rivalries." "Polyglot at the Polls," *Newsweek*, October 3, 1955, p. 39. New York Governor Thomas Dewey (and *Time*) complained about exaggerated reports in Singapore of minor racial episodes in the United States. "Singapore Sling," *Time*, August 13, 1951, p. 71. The threat of racial strife in Malaya, especially between Malays and Chinese, was cited in "A New Nation," *Time*, September 9, 1957, p. 33, and resulted in rioting "between Chinese and Malays." "Other Areas Where Race Riots Flared," *U.S.News & World Report*, August 3, 1964, p. 6, and "Race Riots: A World Problem," *U.S.News & World Report*, August 10, 1964, p. 24. An "orgy of "murder, arson, and looting" marked Buddhist-Tamil rioting in Ceylon. "'Kill Them,'" *Newsweek*, July 7, 1958, p. 41.

[73] "Worldgram," *U.S. News & World Report*, January 8, 1954, p. 46."Man in a Glass House: India's Nehru Talks of U.S. Faults, Not His Own," *U.S. News & World Report*, February 12, 1954, pp. 36-37, 41. The "glass house" theme was reiterated in 1956, albeit at less length, in "Inside Story," *U.S. News & World Report*, May 11, 1956, p. 50. Particularly striking was this exchange between the magazine's

Time put Nehru on its cover in 1956. Its story described a nation "bedeviled by almost every form of intolerance known to man." *Time* listed these examples:

> The mutual religious antipathy between Hindus (303 million), Moslems (35.4 million) and Sikhs (6.2 million) is always close to the boiling point. The nation's 50 million untouchables suffer from caste discrimination, resting, in the words of an Indian government official, on "prejudices deeper than the one against Negroes in the U.S." The 26 million ebony-colored Tamils claim that fair-skinned northerners (like Nehru) persecute them because of their color.[74]

Newsweek, for its part, complained that India's untouchables "are victims of segregation" that "high-caste Indians often ridicule in the U.S." What Indians were doing to relieve the misery of their most down-trodden countrymen seemed pitifully inadequate. One social worker suggested that introducing mops and long-handled brooms "'instead of having sweepers crouch on the floor with bunches of twigs and dirty rages'" would bring new dignity to untouchables. A caste war that caused the deaths of at least 40 people was a "blow to Indian pride and prestige." But the attempt of a Calcutta newspaper to draw a comparison of the incidents "'to nasty things that have been reported from the Southern states of the United States'" was refuted by the size of number of deaths.[75]

The Japanese glass house was targeted by American stone-throwers. *Time* was especially acerbic about Japanese criticism of American racial episodes:

> Like many other newspapers abroad, the Japanese press played the news from Arkansas with ill-concealed relish. But Japan's most influential daily, *Asahi Simbun*, pointedly reminded its readers that perhaps Japan is in no position to throw rocks at Little Rock. *Asahi* devoted 10,000

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board of editors and an unnamed correspondent: "Q Are they [Indians] worried about segregation? The Indians have always denounced the U.S. violently for the Negro problem in America, yet they have got the most serious kind of segregation in dealing with their own 'untouchables.' Do you still find them excited about our treatment of the Negro in America? A Yes." Ibid. The theme also reappeared the following year, a week after President Eisenhower sent in troops to enforce court-order desegregation in Little Rock. *U.S. News* found, in India, an object lesson: "Here in India, as in the U.S., people are finding that you have to do a lot more than outlaw segregation in order to put an end to it. Segregation, which in India is on a scale far vaster than in America, has been unconstitutional for 10 years. But it is still flourishing." "Where 55 Million Are Segregated," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 11, 1957, p. 68. A similar observation appears in "WorldGram," *U.S. News & World Report*, October 4, 1957, p. 86.

[74] "The Uncertain Bellwether," *Time*, July 30, 1956, p. 18.

[75] See, respectively, "Chance for the Lowly?" *Newsweek*, September 24, 1956, p. 54; "The Children of God," *Newsweek*, October 7, 1957, pp. 48-49. A book review brought up again the continuing degradation of the untouchables. "One With Their Country?" *Newsweek*, February 15, 1965, pp. 96, 98.

> words to the plight of Japan's 3,000,000 eta (literally: "very dirty") untouchables.
>
> Japan's untouchables live in 6,000 more or less rigidly segregated communities. Commercial firms generally refuse to hire them, and when an eta seeks to "pass over" by hiding his origins, discovery can mean divorce, suicide, and occasionally even murder.[76]

U.S. News was equally critical:

> . . .Koreans who have spent all their lives in Japan live in "ghettos" because of economic and social pressures. They are scorned by the Japanese and are "second-class citizens" by any definition.
>
> Another skeleton in Japan's closet consists of the Eta, the "untouchables" of Japan, who number an estimated three million. They are descendants of executioners, butchers, leather worker, potters, undertakers, and umbrella makers. . . .The class and segregated villages were abolished in 1871. Yet today there are at least six thousand Japanese communities that are almost exclusively Eta, among the poorest in Japan. Many firms unofficially discriminate against workers of Eta birth. Even now it is almost impossible for an Eta to marry outside the class.[77]

In the aftermath of two great civil rights campaigns in the United States, *U.S. News* and *Time* said, in so many, words, that no matter how troubling, American racial problems paled beside those of Asia. In July of 1963, less than two months after police dogs and fire hoses used in Birmingham against civil rights demonstrators caused an outcry around the world, *U.S. News* published this analysis:

> Nowhere in the great arc of East Asia, from Japan to India, is there a country free of racial antagonism or of discrimination against minorities. Segregation is not sanctioned by law in any area. Yet "separateness" of minorities is enforced by popular attitudes far more severe than segregation in the U.S.[78]

Two years later, a month after attack on marchers during the voting rights campaign in Selma, brought condemnations world-wide, *Time* published this essay:

> *"If you see an Indian and a cobra, strangle the Indian first," the saying goes in Indo-China. Javanese peasants say, "When you meet a snake and a slit-eye (Chinese), first kill the slit-eye, then the snake. Among the Punjabis the proverb is, "If you spy a serpent and a Sindhi, get the Sindhi first."*
>
> Variations of this ugly axiom are heard the length of Asia and are as universal as the antagonisms they express. The continent's greatest single cause of turmoil is not the struggle for food or political power but simple—and no so simple—hatred among peoples, classes, races. The U.S. is deeply and rightly troubled by its own problems of racial discrimination. They are mild compared with Asia's endemic and murderous grudges, and America's problems are subject to a system of social and legal redress that, tragically, most of Asia lacks.[79]

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[76] "Glass House, Dirty Windows," *Time*, October 7, 1957, p. 73.

[77] "Race Trouble—Is It the Same the World Over?" *U.S. News & World Report*, July 1, 1963, p. 33.

[78] Ibid.

[79] "Discrimination and Discord in Asia," *Time*, April 9, 1965, p. 32.

CONCLUSION

Hinds and Windt have written that "the Soviet-American Cold War was a rhetorical war, one fought with words as weapons....The rhetoric created the consensus we call the Cold War." A major offensive in that war was the one fought in the press over the issue of racial troubles in the combatant's own nations. In the post-war world, race achieved a prominent place in international debate because of the significant role being played by newly emerging nations, largely populated by people of color. The world had been defined as undergoing an ideological struggle between the freedom of American-style democracy and the bondage of Soviet-led communism, between good and evil, between "our" way of living and "theirs." These divisions had been articulated for the world by reports and interpretations of Josef Stalin's February 9, 1946 election speech, Winston Churchill's March 5, 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech, and Harry Truman's March 12, 1947 containment speech. The Truman Doctrine "made it perfectly clear that its target was not all 'violence' or 'coercion' or all 'changes in the status quo,' but only those having something to do with 'communism.'" In his speech Truman declared, "The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms." But the program's intent went beyond helping "free peoples" maintain their status; it made official an ideological division of the world and opened a campaign aimed at winning as many peoples over to "our side" as possible. It was here that the decolonizing nations of the world, especially those in Africa, became pivotal. Thus the issue of race became central to the Cold War struggle and gave the "glass houses" argument life.[80]

The problem for America as it pursued the loyalties of those new nations was best expressed by Walter Lippmann, writing for the New York *Herald Tribune* in 1957:

> It is hard to keep bright and convincing the image of America as the leader of the free nations and the liberator of the captive. For we are a long way short of having learned to practice all that we preach. Yet we preach incessantly about justice and freedom, law and order.
>
> At home, there is the stark fact that these exists among us a caste system based on the color of a

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[80] Hinds and Windt, *The Cold War as Rhetoric*, p. 1. LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, pp. 251-252. Richard J. Barnet, *Intervention and Revolution* (New York: New American Library, 1972), p. 19.

> man's skin. It mocks us and haunts us whenever we become eloquent and indignant in the United Nations. It mocks us and haunts us when we sprinkle our speeches with advice and warnings and exhortations. There is no use fooling ourselves. The caste system in this country, particularly when as in Little Rock it is maintained by troops, is an enormous, indeed an almost insuperable, obstacle to our leadership in the cause of freedom and human equality.[81]

What Lippmann saw, so too did the nations of the world. The glass houses argument not only found its way onto the world stage via the United Nations, but also, as this study demonstrates, through the daily and weekly pages of the press. Sometimes it was the American glass house under attack and sometimes press accounts lobbed those stones beyond U.S. borders. While some racial stone-throwing was characterized as Communist propaganda, some U.S. racial problems were bemoaned largely because of their potential to become ammunition for such a propaganda assault. The U.S. press provided a forum for this glass houses argument. As this study reveals, press coverage of the international stone-throwing provides an essential context for understanding the Cold War and the impact of racial problems on that conflict. Neither America's role in the Cold War nor the the civil rights movement can be fully grasped without addressing the relationship. Clearly, the press accounts detailing the glass houses phenomenon provide a productive way to pursue this line of inquiry.

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[81] Clinton Rossiter and James Lare, eds. *The Essential Lippmann: A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 378-379.